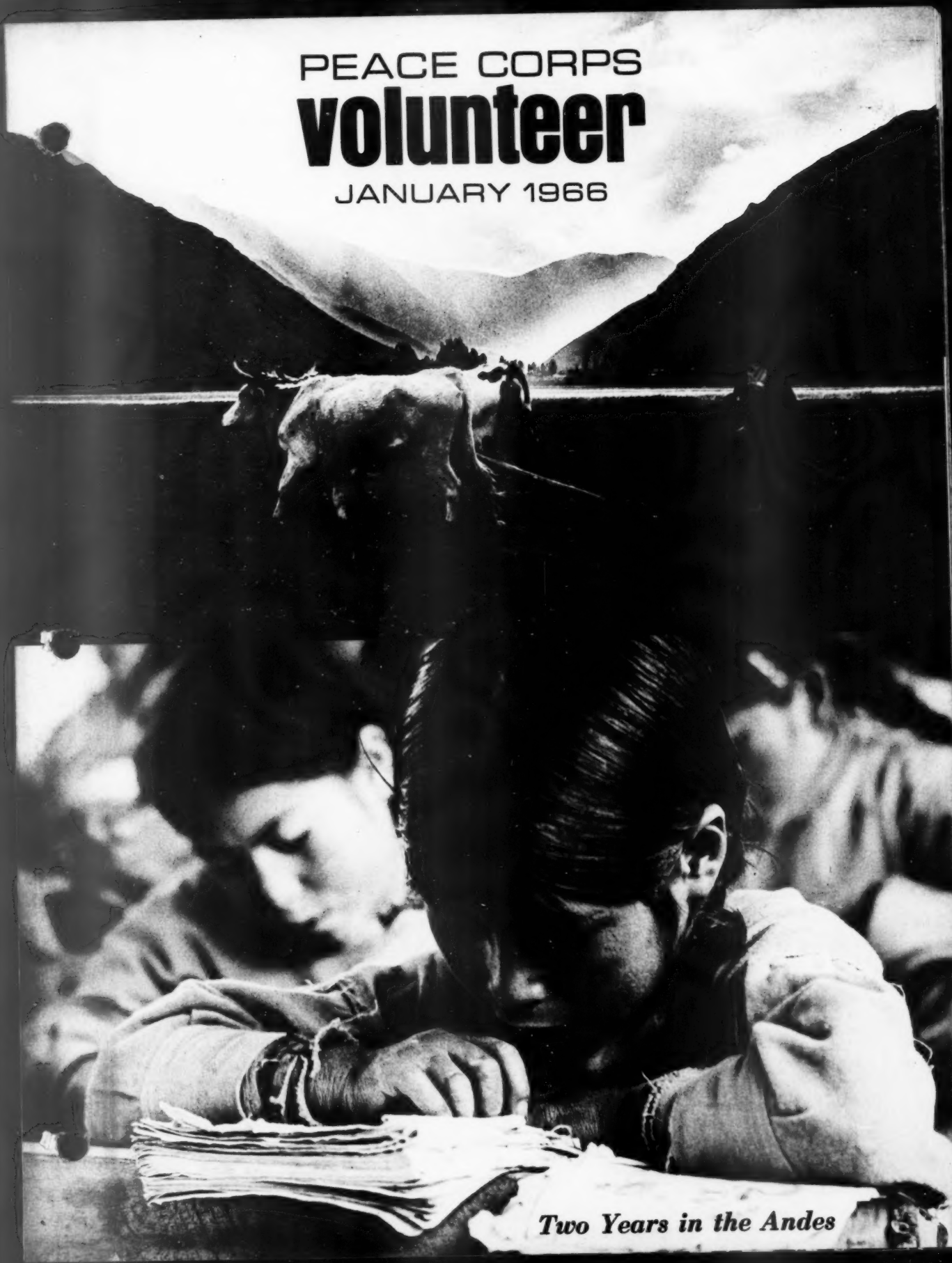
PEACE CORPS

volunteer

JANUARY 1966



Two Years in the Andes

OUT AND IN: Retiring Director Sargent Shriver and his successor, Jack Hood Vaughn.

Vaughn Takes the Helm

Jack Hood Vaughn has been appointed Director of the Peace Corps.

He was named to the post by President Lyndon B. Johnson on January 17. The appointment is subject to Senate confirmation.

Outgoing Director Sargent Shriver will shift his full attention to the Office of Economic Opportunity, which he has directed for 17 months.

For Vaughn, the move represents a homecoming. He was the first Peace Corps Regional Director for Latin America, and served in that capacity from October, 1961 to April, 1964.

He left to serve as U.S. Ambassador to Panama and he later became Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs and U.S. coordinator of the Alliance for Progress.

President Johnson said that Shriver, who helped organize the Peace Corps and has directed it ever since, "will be working double time now, as he always has, but on one rather than two jobs."

Shriver had maintained the two posts since he took the reins of the antipoverty program on August 20, 1964.

"Few men in the life of our nation have ever held such broad responsibilities at the same time," the President said.

Mr. Johnson lauded the outgoing Peace Corps Director as a man of "rare energy and rare ability."

"I am asking Mr. Shriver to give full time to the war on poverty," he continued. "We are going to enlarge that war and . . . prosecute it with all the vigor and determination at our command."

For his part, Shriver said, "I am extremely pleased that Jack Vaughn has been selected."

Vaughn was expected to take the helm soon.

The President said that in appointing Vaughn he was asking him "to return in fact to his first love," the Peace Corps.

Vaughn, 45, was recruited for the Peace Corps by his predecessor. The year was 1961 and the place was West Africa, where Vaughn was directing U.S. aid missions for Senegal, Mali and Mauritania. Shriver picked him to head up Peace Corps programs in Latin America.

EDITOR'S NOTE—The news of Jack Hood Vaughn's appointment as Peace Corps Director broke just as we were going to press. After some last-minute shifting of stories and page layouts, we were able to present it in this issue. Unavoidably, references to Sargent Shriver elsewhere in this edition lack the journalistic phrase, "retiring director." It's just as well. The modifier doesn't fit the man, anyway.

He joined the staff because "the Peace Corps idea had a great appeal to me. And the people I knew who were putting this idea into effect appealed to me even more."

Vaughn said later that he left the U.S. aid program "because the economists had taken over. Economics are important, of course, but the non-economic tasks of training people and developing local institutions are even more so."

Vaughn spurred Peace Corps involvement in community development projects in Latin America. When he came to the Peace Corps, there were only 78 Volunteers serving in Latin America. By the time he left, 2½ years later, there were 2,500, and most of them were in rural and urban community development.

In his subsequent roles at the Department of State he has promoted a Peace Corps-style approach to diplomacy and has encouraged more cooperation between the Foreign Service and the Agency for International Development on the one hand and the Peace Corps on the other.

Vaughn has said, "If I had my way, every young foreign service officer who now spends his early career stamping visas would be forced to put in two years with the Peace Corps or two years in private business as a salesman or an assistant assembly line foreman—anything that would teach them how to deal with people and get along with them."

Vaughn's career has demonstrated this personal approach to diplomacy.

"I was bumming around Mexico one summer when I ran out of money," he recalls. "I decided I would take my boxing and turn pro, but I didn't know enough Spanish at the time to tell whether the agent said

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ON THE COVER: The Urubamba Valley and a Chijnaya school. All photos of Peru (see Pages 4-23) by Paul Conklin, Peace Corps photographer. Volunteers pictured are not those treated in the Cornell Peru Report.

I would get 60 pesos for four rounds or four pesos for 60 rounds. You can guess which figure was correct."

He paid his way with his fists, through 26 featherweight bouts under the name "Johnny Hood." He has told Latin American audiences that the first words of Spanish he learned were "*mata al gringo*" (kill the American), picked up from Mexican boxing fans.

Vaughn returned to the University of Michigan, resumed use of his real name, and worked his way to a degree in Latin American studies with a job as university boxing coach.

His academic career was interrupted by World War II. He entered the Marines as a private, fought in the South Pacific, and was discharged as a captain.

Soon after, he took his bride, the former Joanne Smith of New York City, to Mexico for a two-week vacation. They stayed ten months. The next several years were spent in teaching French and Spanish at the Universities of Michigan and Pennsylvania.

In 1949, Vaughn joined the U.S. Information Agency as director of the Bi-National Center at La Paz, Bolivia. His career in government has been interrupted only once since, when he took a year out to teach at Johns Hopkins University.

Vaughn moved on to Costa Rica with the U.S.I.A. and in 1952 he joined the International Cooperation Administration, a forerunner of A.I.D. He served as an I.C.A. program officer in Panama, Bolivia, and Washington before moving to Dakar, where he eventually met Sargent Shriver.

At the Peace Corps, Vaughn eventually came to supervise the largest number of Volunteers in the largest number of projects in the most countries, and played a key role in the formation of Peace Corps policies over a 2½ year period.

He was tapped for the sensitive Panamanian mission by President Johnson. He endeared himself to Panamanian leaders and laid the groundwork for the new Panama Canal treaty. Within 11 months he became the top U.S. official concerned primarily with Latin America policy. He has directed the Department of State's largest bureau, with 600 employees in Washington and more than 2,000 abroad. Vaughn has traveled widely in Latin America promoting the Alliance for Progress, which he has called "democratic and progressive and modern and daring and difficult and Christian and powerful."

Taking the Long Way Home

If the man on the left in the above picture looks like a Peace Corps Volunteer, guess again. He is none other than actor Steve McQueen, and his bearded companion is John Weinberg, a former Volunteer. Weinberg's image is likely to beat him home from service abroad. His face will be popping up on first run movie house screens somewhere alongside McQueen. Weinberg went to Taiwan after completing service in Sierra Leone and, after learning Mandarin, he took up where he left off: teaching English, in a sort of one man Peace Corps operation. Robert Wise, producer-director of Twentieth Century Fox's forthcoming "Sand Pebbles," heard of Weinberg's rapport with the Chinese and hired him to translate for the film company, including McQueen. Weinberg proved so capable that he was invited to play a part as a Shanghai Sikh policeman and two other minor parts. Weinberg taught for two years at Freetown, Sierra Leone, before trekking east. He reports that his teaching pay there is about the same as it was with the Peace Corps.

While Weinberg traveled East, Martha Cooper headed West, by motor bike. After completing service as an English teacher in Thailand, she rode the bike 16,000 miles through Asia and Europe. It took her five months and cost $500. Her traveling companion for most of the trip was a Canadian machinist who was taking the long route home from the Tokyo Olympics. "I wish I could do it all over again," exults Martha. "It was a remarkably smooth trip." Martha, shown below in Afghanistan, returned home to Baltimore, Md., before taking off again—this time to study ethnology at Oxford University.

Report measures PCV impact

The Cornell Peru Report is the story of 50 Peace Corps Volunteers and what they accomplished—and didn't accomplish—in the Andes.

It is also a story of 15 villages and what happened to them because of the Peace Corps.

The researchers, who were well acquainted with community life in the Andes long before the Peace Corps arrived, carefully measured every aspect of Volunteer life over a period of two years, 1962-64.

The Volunteers were under a social science microscope from the time they entered training for Peru III in the summer of 1962 to the time they completed service, and the communities where they labored were assessed before, during, and after their tours.

The result is a detailed and scholarly 329-page work titled "Measurement of Peace Corps Program Impact in the Peruvian Andes."

A major conclusion of the report is that Peace Corps communities developed at a rate almost three times as fast as communities without Volunteers.

The report finds that "the Peace Corps program in the Peruvian Andes did achieve a measurable impact upon its target communities . . . the Volunteers fulfilled one of the three missions defined for the Peace Corps by the Congress in establishing the organization, by contributing to the development of a critical country in the South American region that is one key to the future course of world history."

The research project was contracted by the Peace Corps to the Department of Anthropology at Cornell University. The anthropologists had long been familiar with many of the Indian villages in the Peruvian Andes through their Cornell Peru Project which began 14 years ago.

Dr. Allan R. Holmberg, chairman of the Department and one of the three authors of the report, was the architect of the community development program in Vicos, Peru (see Page 10), which became famous throughout Latin America.

The contract representatives were involved from the beginning of the Peace Corps project not only as observers but as staff advisers and consultants to the Peace Corps country staff and to Volunteers themselves.

Their "participant observation" involved detailed research through interviewing, personal observation, use of questionnaires, and photography. Holmberg and four other members of the faculty and staff at Cornell were assisted by a large staff of Peruvians, including many anthropology students, who did extensive field investigation.

Frank Mankiewicz, Latin America Regional Director, calls the report a "landmark" in community development research.

"The 50 Volunteers were among the

In the Andean village of Pisac, Molly Heit teaches children to embroider tapestries, using their own ideas for design.

first Peace Corps community development workers," says Mankiewicz. "They operated almost without precedent or textbook in a difficult culture among people to whom even Spanish was an acquired language. That they did so well is remarkable, and we have been able to benefit even from the mistakes."

Mankiewicz says the research findings prompted changes in Volunteer selection, training, and field operation. These include better language training, more emphasis on selecting Volunteers with a university education or technical training, and improving relations between Volunteers and host country institutions.

Initially, the research applied only to 44 Volunteers who trained with the Peru III group at Cornell. During the study, the work of six other Volunteers became entwined with the other 44, boosting the Volunteer sample to 50.

The 15 sample communities spread over 700 miles from Vicos in the northwestern department of Ancash to Puno in the southeast.

They are: Recuayhuanca, Mita, Carhuaz, Chancos, Vicos, Huaraz, Pararin, Cuyo Chico, Taraco, Huancollusco, Camicachi, Chucuito, Ichu, Chijnaya, and Puno.

Director Sargent Shriver says he views the Cornell Peru Report as one of great "practical and historical significance."

"For the first time," he said, "we have objective, scientific validation of the successes Peace Corps Volunteers are registering in the field of community development. It is hard, demanding work in isolated areas under sometimes difficult and frustrating conditions, but the report shows that the Volunteers have been successful even beyond our initial hopes."

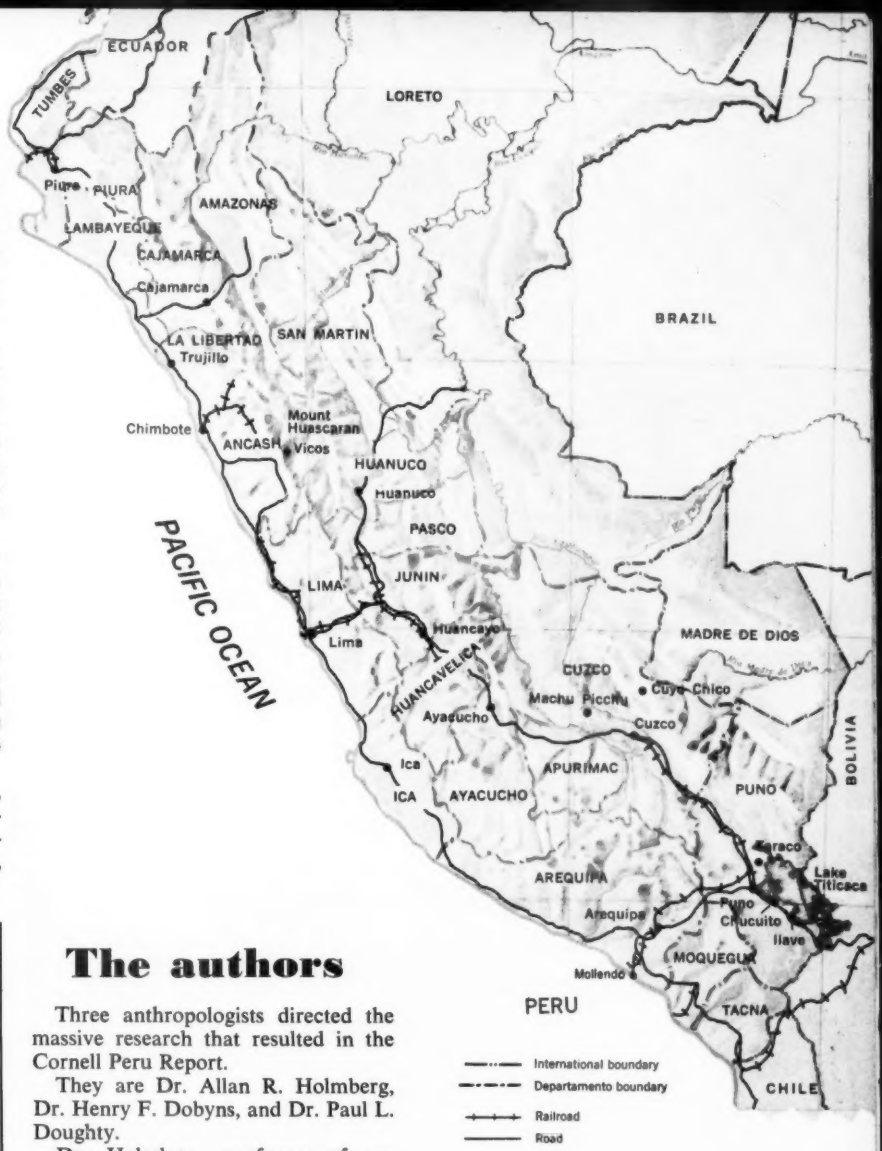
Names changed

The names are changed, but the people and the places are the same.

The Cornell Peru Report embraces the life and work of 50 Volunteers over a two-year span. All 50 are listed under fictitious names, from Ava to Prudence.

First names are used, not to be condescending, but to give an immediate indication of the sex of the Volunteer.

None of the Volunteers treated in the report are now serving in Peru.



The authors

Three anthropologists directed the massive research that resulted in the Cornell Peru Report.

They are Dr. Allan R. Holmberg, Dr. Henry F. Dobyns, and Dr. Paul L. Doughty.

Dr. Holmberg, professor of anthropology and chairman of the department at Cornell University, has conducted research and inspired community development in the Peruvian highlands for two decades. Fourteen years ago he launched the Vicos project that became a community development model in Latin America.

Dr. Dobyns is a lecturer and senior research associate in Cornell's Department of Anthropology, and the university's coordinator for Comparative Studies of Social Change. He has edited and written several books dealing with the Andean Indians.

Dr. Doughty was a research assistant at Cornell four years before he joined the Cornell Peru Project and went to the Andes as a project coordinator in 1962. He is now assistant professor of anthropology at Indiana University.

'These lessons will not be lost'

By **FRANK MANKIEWICZ**
Latin America Regional Director

Four years ago, when the world was smaller—at least mine was smaller—I came to Jack Vaughn with my troubles. I had recently become P.D.O./L.A.'s field expert on prizefighting (Jack was the resident expert) and Peru, and I wanted to cancel a program which had been painfully developed over a period of some months. Specifically, Dick Ottinger—then West Coast L.A. Chief and now Rep. Ottinger (D-N.Y.); his world was smaller, too—had worked out a program with the Peruvian government, whereby Volunteers would work throughout the Andes, in largely Indian communities, with the Government's National Plan for the Integration of the Indian. It was an ambitious program, and most people thought it looked good.

That is, it looked good until I took a hard look at it. "Jack," I said, "this program will never work." It called, after all, for Peace Corps Volunteers to integrate Quechua-speaking Indians into a Spanish-Peruvian culture. "That," I said, "is asking A to integrate B into C's culture. It'll never work."

The argument seemed persuasive, and with a feeling, I think, that you can't win them all, Jack agreed, and I prepared to go to Peru, and find something better. But by the time I got to Lima, I discovered that (a) the Peruvian authorities not only thought the program could work, they were enthusiastic, and (b) the U.S. Ambassador, James Loeb, advanced the view (later more widely shared) that the Peace Corps was out of its mind to junk a program which it had just developed. I quickly decided that the program had a great deal of merit, after all, and we went ahead.

I'm grateful that we didn't heed our own conservatism, and even more grateful that we were all amateurs. Real professional programmers would never have taken the first step, the great advances in rural life the Cornell Report describes would never have been accomplished, and the Peace Corps would not have—as it now has—scientific data verifying the success of our community development Volunteers.

I know the communities described in this report. I also know hundreds of others, in Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, and Colombia, which are hardly distinguishable. Until you have experienced at first hand the apathy, the sullen sense of futility, the hopelessness of life, and the absence of growth or the hope of growth which characterizes the Andean village, you cannot appreciate the extraordinary effort that has gone into the Cornell study. Nor, in a very real sense, can you appreciate the results these Volunteers were able to achieve.

The "development scale" used by these anthropologists is a fascinating one, and reflects the vast gulf we face when we talk about development. In communities where a significant step upward towards a better life is the opening of a seed store, or the entry of a literate person, or a teacher, or the formation of a credit union, or the distribution of a two-page weekly newspaper—where the United States is as far away as the moon, and the idea of self-government as unlikely as flying to the moon—Peace Corps Volunteers are a powerful force. They are often, too often, the only credible manifestation of the U.S. and of our commitment to freedom and the democratic spirit.

Thus, it seems to me that the report of Drs. Holmberg, Dobyns, and Doughty is of great significance to all of us, and on at least two levels. For it not only demonstrates that community development—as the Peace Corps has been practicing it in Latin America—works, and works well, it also points out avenues down which all elements of U.S. policy can profitably travel.

The press, of course, has had a field day with the Cornell Report. Some reporters have found that two Volunteers out of the 50 surveyed spent too much time primping in front of a mirror; one was careless with tools; another abandoned a going project, and still another could drink the local champion *borracho*—literally—under the table. The result, here and there, has been headlines reading "Peace Corps Girls Fail with Sex," or "Peace Corps Volunteers have no Respect for Property," or "Volunteers Succeed, in Drinking Contests." A breezy headline in an afternoon paper reading, let us say, "Anthropologists Discover after Two-Year Study that Andean Communities are 2.8 Times Better Off after the Presence of Peace Corps Volunteers, Applying the Appropriate Scale Calculations and Taking Account of the Efforts of Indigenous Institutions, Than Without Them," does not sell a lot of papers. But that is really what the report says. Stripped of all the jargon, with all the tables boiled down and the disclaimers duly discounted, Dr. Holmberg and his colleagues present us with the ultimate unchallengeable conclusion that communities with Volunteers advance at a rate nearly three times as fast as similar communities without Volunteers.

This fact alone is enough. And when you think about it awhile, it is impressive. Or "incredible," as Dr. Doughty, in an unprofessional aside, commented. Young (and older) North Americans, barely three months removed from the most advanced (some say decadent) affluent culture in the history of the world, were able to animate the primitive communities in which they worked, were able to organize a spirit of cooperation, were able to command attention for their new neighbors to the point where these significant differences in growth-rate could be ascertained.

This growth-rate differential, of course, was attained in many ways, and all are significant. Some Volunteers, so to speak, "rolled their own." They formed the co-ops which rated "1" on the scale; they organized work projects which built the school, or the bridge, or the waterway; they conducted—and got others to conduct—the classes which led to literacy. This is direct action, nowhere better demonstrated than in the case of "Perry," who brought his community from 0 to 21 with just this kind of activity.

All over Latin America, I have seen this kind of action. In Bolivia, in

Colombia, in El Salvador, in Panama, communities move and begin to flourish with the impetus of a Volunteer. Here a credit union, there a housing project, the examples are everywhere. It remained for the Cornell men to show us that our eyes—and our enthusiasm—did not deceive us; that these things *were* happening, and that they had their own cultural significance. Life was, indeed, better.

But there is something else in the report which verified the community development approach, in perhaps a subtler way, but no less direct. That is what the economists call the "multiplier effect," and the warriors call the "domino theory." It happens in community development when the Volunteer's activity in community organization may not be directed toward a tangible gain on the development scale, or when it is, but he fails. And at the same time, the organizational effort causes the community to be noticed, to be taken into account, so that tangible development—from official sources—comes to the people which would not have come otherwise.

A Small 'Squeak'

One of my favorite examples of this kind is of a Volunteer couple in a remote village in northern Peru. As the Cornell Report points out, these Volunteers were required to spend the first few months working almost full time at improving their house. ("Improving," in this case, meant adding two walls to make four in all.) During this early period, the male Volunteer began tentative efforts, later augmented somewhat, to organize a work group to repair a short stretch of road to the neighboring village. The idea was that if this work group could be organized, the district government might be persuaded to spend some scarce resources so that the road would be made fit for cart travel. As it was, the people had to hand-carry their produce to the next market.

Just a few months after the house had been completed, however, the female Volunteer announced to her spouse that their union was soon to be blessed, and the couple returned, reluctantly, to the U.S. And there, but for the Cornell Report, the story might have ended, hardly a success story for the villagers. But, significantly, some three or four months later, the district government did come along and make its contribution, and the road has been repaired. In other words, the mere presence of the Volunteers, with the organizational consciousness they were able to bring to their neighbors, caused the town to be *noticed*, and the people's needs to be met. Even a small squeak, if persistent, will get some grease.

And of course, there is another important finding in the report, with great prospects for all of us involved in U.S. policy in Latin America. Roughly 80 per cent of the Volunteer success described in the report came from Volunteers working with other institutions, either directly or which they were able to involve. Particularly was this true with respect to A.I.D. One of the crucial findings of the report is that the Volunteer is the best conduit for U.S. aid, the best point of impact for the small project or the small expenditure of funds. $980 of U.S.A.I.D. money, plus one Volunteer, plus a well-organized community, produced a jackhammer, a savings of years of labor, and an irrigation canal between two villages which now provides drinking water, irrigation, and some electricity. The Volunteer needed the jackhammer, the jackhammer needed the Volunteer, and the village needed both.

These lessons will not be lost on us, and I am sure they will not be lost on the Peace Corps. The job of institution-building is a fragile one, and often an ill-defined one. But this report shows that it can be done. It demonstrates clearly that Volunteers, working with A.I.D., with A.I.D.-supported local institutions, and with such local groups as clubs, churches, and schools, can advance the rate of development and bring new hope to man.

What I am trying to say, I guess, is that thanks to our early "mistakes," our willingness to take the hardnosed professional view, the world of community development will never be the same. This Cornell Report has charted a path for all of us, if we will only walk it together.

Frank Mankiewicz has been in charge of Peace Corps program development and operations for 19 Latin American countries since April, 1964. From 1962 to 1964, he directed the Peace Corps program in Peru.

"The great advances in rural life the report describes would never have been accomplished." Volunteers introduced new methods of crop rotation and irrigation to this area where Peruvians labor on terraces built by their Inca ancestors.

PCVs spur development

The Cornell Peru Report concludes that community development proceeds at a much faster pace when a Peace Corps Volunteer is on the scene.

The research team carefully analyzed everything Volunteers did in 15 communities. It also traced the rate of development in five villages where the Peace Corps wasn't.

The Peace Corps communities developed 2.8 times faster than the settlements where there were no Volunteers.

The rate of development was measured on a 100-point scale of social structure, which permitted direct comparison of the relative degree of socio-economic differentiation in Peruvian settlements.

The indices on the scale, listed below, were selected so as to put only Lima, the largest city in Peru and the central city for commerce, finance, industry, communications, arts and sciences, and government, at 100 points.

The indices range from garbage disposal to daily newspaper, cemetery to swimming pool, barber to university graduate. Each rates a point on the scale. In the Peruvian highlands, progress comes in small doses. One town, for example, gained a point with the acquisition of a portable water installation inspired by two Volunteers. Another village picked up a point when four trucks were purchased.

Before 1962, the village of Chijnaya had no score whatsoever. It was zero on the social structure scale. By 1965, it had a score of 21, largely through the efforts of the Peace Corps (see Page 18).

The researchers gave some attention to Volunteer impact in the complex urban settlements of Puno, Cuzco, and Huaraz. In the social scale ratings, no increases were measured in those cities, though the researchers found that Volunteers substantially reinforced many existing institutions.

In eliminating these three cities from the 15 sample settlements studied by Cornell, the research team found that the rate of scale increase for the remaining 12 rural communities was 2.1 points per community per year.

That is 3.47 times faster than the rate established for the five comparison community samples, which were similar to the 12 villages except that they did not have Peace Corps Volunteers. The basic rate of scale increase for the five rural settlements without Volunteers was .6 point per community per year.

"Future studies of the settlements where Volunteers worked during the 1962-64 period will be required to discover whether these communities continue to increase in scale of social structure more rapidly than Andean settlements which have not received the stimulus of Volunteer action," the report says.

"What we are able to say, on the basis of the first two years' record, is that Volunteers clearly fostered a trend toward relatively rapid community development."

THE SCALE

GOVERNMENTAL STRUCTURE

1. National Capital: seat of Congress, chief executive, and principal national appellate court.
2. Department Capital: seat of a prefect, analogue of a state in Mexico or the United States.
3. Provincial Capital: seat of a subprefect, analogue of a county in the United States.
4. District Capital: seat of a registrar of vital statistics and the smallest official unit of national government. The *alcalde* (principal administrative officer) may or may not reside in the district capital.
5. Police protection, defined as having a resident policeman of the *Guardia Civil*, the national militarized police force.
6. Government buildings other than those specified in other categories (e.g., community headquarters, customs sheds, military or naval barracks).
7. Public Charity Society (*Sociedad de Beneficencia Publica*): a public assistance and welfare agency endowed with land, often manors with serfs bound to them.
8. Community land ownership: parks, central square, streets, commons, etc.
9. Municipal police force: independent of national police.

EDUCATIONAL STRUCTURE

10. Graduate level university instruction.
11. University level instruction, including normal schools.
12. Secondary level instruction, defined here as complete (e.g., five years).
13. Primary level instruction, defined here as five grades.
14. Literates: one or more literate residents (percentage if known).
15. Primary school graduates: one or more such residents (percentage if known).
16. Secondary school graduates: one or more such residents (percentage if known).
17. University graduates: one or more such residents (percentage if known).
18. Agricultural extension services.

RELIGIOUS STRUCTURE

19. Seat of archbishop or cardinal.
20. Diocesan seat with cathedral and resident bishop.
21. Parish headquarters with resident parish priest.
22. Church or chapel building.
23. Protestant chapel and congregation.
24. Religious lay voluntary associations that are permanent and formally organized, other than congregations.

BASIC COMMUNITY SERVICES

25. Electricity: electric power plant, public lighting, household service.
26. Market: public marketing area, supervised and housed in public building.
27. Water supply: piped into public taps and/or houses.
28. Canal irrigation works.
29. Public square: improved (e.g., concrete walks, trees, shrubs, fountains, etc.).
30. Paved or cobbled streets.
31. Garbage collection and disposal.
32. Swimming pool.
33. Public school pupil-feeding program.
34. Welfare program (such as Caritas).
35. Intra-city bus, *colectivo*, taxi service.
36. Sports field.
37. Cemetery.
38. Public library, sectarian or private.
39. Museum: public or private (number per 1,000 population if known).

COMMUNICATIONS

40. Airport and regular flights.
41. Railway.
42. Highway: a vehicular road that is passable.
43. Post office.
44. Telegraphic service.
45. Telephonic service.
46. Interprovincial tramp truck service and scheduled truckers.
47. Interprovincial bus service.

Volunteer Ida Shoatz shops for food in the Pisac marketplace. She operates school lunch programs in 13 Peruvian villages.

HEALTH SERVICES

48. Medical service: settlement receives regular visits by doctor.
49. Resident physician (or number per 1,000 inhabitants).
50. Hospital.
51. Resident nurse or nurses.
52. Medical post.

MASS MEDIA

53. Daily newspaper, published in settlement.
54. Weekly newspaper locally published.
55. Weekly, bimonthly, or monthly magazines published.
56. Radio station.
57. Television station.
58. Book publishing industry.
59. Newspaper reading: metropolitan newspapers are delivered and read regularly.

CREDIT STRUCTURE

60. Banking institutions: main offices, branches, agencies.
61. Credit unions, including housing cooperatives, loan associations, finance companies.

INDUSTRIAL STRUCTURE

62. Construction industry with specialized skills (e.g., mason, tile factory).
63. Processing industry: soda water, mineral water, canneries, brewery, cordage mill, match factory, vegetable oil mill, soap factory, furniture factory.
64. Clothing industry: textiles, shoes, hats, etc.
65. Metallurgical industry: extraction, processing, manufacture (e.g., railway shops, machine manufacture).
66. Pharmaceutical industry.
67. Chemical industry (e.g., caustic soda).

COMMERCIAL RECREATION

68. Moving picture theaters.
69. Legitimate theaters.
70. Concert band or orchestra (European instruments): professional full-time musicians.
71. Bullring or stadium.
72. Indoor recreation (e.g., billiards, night clubs, bowling alleys, shooting galleries, skating rinks, gymnasiums.

COMMERCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

73. Fair, regularly held.
74. General retail stores.
75. Specialized stores: wholesalers.
76. Specialized stores: groceries.
77. Specialized stores: clothing (e.g., hat, shoes, tailor, underwear, tie).
78. Specialized stores: department.
79. Specialized stores: pharmacies.
80. Specialized stores: hardware.
81. Specialized stores: garage, gasoline station.
82. Specialized stores: automobile dealer.
83. Specialized stores: glass (e.g., plate, window, picture, glasswares).
84. Specialized stores: book or magazine.
85. Specialized stores: home appliances (e.g., radio, sewing machine, refrigerator, stove, record player).
86. Specialized stores: agricultural supplies (e.g., seed, fertilizer, implements, tractors).
87. Specialized stores: photographic.
88. Specialized stores: bakeries.
89. Specialized services: insurance.
90. Specialized services: undertaking.
91. Specialized services: barbers and beauticians.
92. Specialized services: hotels, including inns and pensions.
93. Specialized services: restaurants and drinking establishments (bars, taverns, soda parlors).
94. Locally owned trucks and other motor vehicles.
95. Cooperative (producers' or consumers').
96. Skilled commercial handicraft production.

OTHER

97. Settlement is a target of migration.
98. Cosmopolitanism: foreign colony or colonies.
99. Social clubs, either purely local or multi-settlement (e.g., Masons, country club, Rotary, Lions, provincial).
100. Sports clubs.

Vicos: a hard lesson

Thirteen Peace Corps Volunteers learned the hard way—by their own expulsion from the village—that Vicos, Peru, is a self-governing community.

Their expulsion from the Andean Indian village by a vote of the local council proved one of the most sensational incidents of the Peru III project. And it was also one of the least understood.

"People who took a short range view thought that the Vicos vote was a great defeat for the Peace Corps," says Frank Mankiewicz, who was Peace Corps Director in Peru and is now Latin America Regional Director. "I think it was a great triumph for community development."

"The Vicosinos," he notes, "voted the Peace Corps back in four or five weeks. But, to me, that was not nearly as great a triumph as the fact that they felt confident enough to take that vote and throw us out in the first place. Democracy doesn't guarantee good government, just self-government."

The Cornell research team was uniquely qualified to chronicle the Peace Corps experience in Vicos, a *hacienda* situated in the Callejón de Huaylas Valley 9,000 feet above sea level. The Cornell Peru Project had been engaged in community action and research there for ten years before the Peace Corps arrived in October, 1962.

In 1952, Cornell had assumed responsibility for the administration and development of the manor as a laboratory for community development. This application proceeded until 1957, when Vicos came under the administration of the Peruvian National Plan for Integrating the Aboriginal Population (P.N.I.P.A.).

Before 1952, Vicos was a virtual serfdom. Its 1,850 Quechua-speaking Indian residents held no title to the land they tilled and had no say in its management. A single individual, the *patrón*, ruled the manor. He controlled everything but the local church.

Only five people could read and write, and 1,576 had never gone to school. Most of the Indians did not even recognize the word "Peru" and had no knowledge of their Peruvian nationality.

The residents of the village were mostly farmers who had no skills and were barely able to sustain the community with their produce and wage work in a nearby town. Vicos had only the most basic services—a chapel, a cemetery, an ancient irrigation canal, and a bumpy truck track.

By Cornell's social structure scale, Vicos in 1952 had eight points. It ranked near the bottom.

Then came the Cornell Peru Project of applied social science to inspire Vicosino efforts to maximize their resources.

The newcomers zeroed in on establishing a viable primary education system. They improved facilities and training, encouraged community participation, started pupil lunches, and rewarded good attendance. In five years the school had 250 regular students and eight teachers.

From there, Vicos moved up the development scale by gaining enlarged playing fields, an agricultural extension service, a regular health clinic and a stock of medicine, an electric generator, and more general stores and products.

Finally, Vicosinos obtained ownership of their own land, abolished the *peón* system of obligatory labor, elected their own officials, and paid taxes on their lands. The 400-year peonage under the *hacienda* system was eliminated.

In one decade, Vicos tripled its score on the Cornell social structure scale, to 23. And there it stood when the Peace Corps arrived.

Thirteen Volunteers were assigned to work with the 24 Peruvian staff members of the Ancash Program of P.N.I.P.A. They were to live in Vicos, from where they eventually spread out to live and work in nearby settlements alone and in teams.

They included agriculturalists, literacy instructors, home economists and

A mother and her children gather twigs for firewood along the mountainous Pisac road.

Volunteer Everett Snowden, at top left, tests a new water-powered spinning wheel he designed to speed production of artisan co-op members in Chijnaya.

demonstrators, a nurse, co-op organizers, and social scientists.

In March, 1964, 17 months after the Volunteers arrived, the Vicos community council voted to expel them from the town. The Cornell Peru Report cites "numerous accidents, blunders, and misunderstandings" that led to the brief ouster.

The Volunteers were relatively comfortably housed in a complex of community buildings which were also used as living quarters for the Peruvian school teachers and P.N.I.P.A. personnel. And it was there, the report notes, that troubles first developed.

Volunteers set up what seemed to them to be an inexpensive cooperative "diner" where they each spent an average of from $1.10 to $1.45 per day for food. The Peruvians paid an average of 35 to 40 cents per day for their boarding house meals. They felt that the Volunteers were showing off their superiority and wealth.

Other conflicts developed over such small things as the Volunteers not liking the way the teachers played basketball, and vice versa, and soon the Volunteers and Peruvians kept largely to themselves despite the physical juxtaposition of their living quarters and work areas.

The friction was symbolized by a sign posted over the Volunteer dining area which read: "The Vicos Hilton." The Volunteers considered it a humorous twist on their rustic living. But for the Peruvians, who had never experienced life in an affluent society, this was a poor joke. They took the sign to mean relative luxury in the bottom-of-the-social-scale post.

"Volunteer isolation from the Indian inhabitants of Vicos was, in most cases, at least as great as Volunteer isolation from Mestizo counterparts," the report says. "Although the Cornell Peru Project staff and the Peace Corps representatives attempted to correct this situation on several occasions, their efforts met with little success. Indeed, the time came when the local Volunteers virtually threw a visiting staff member out of Vicos, and the members of the group were ready to tender their resignations."

The research team said that "the impact of the Volunteers must be evaluated against this background of problems and handicaps."

The experience of one of the Volunteer leaders, Allan, demonstrates much of the frustration in community development.

Troubles Compounded

Allan, a Harvard graduate who had worked on a farm and with race horses, sought to promote improved livestock handling practices, to encourage stock vaccination and deworming of animals.

He tried to use a new method of castrating a friend's donkey, and the donkey died, angering the friend's father and causing the friend to run away from home.

He irritated his Peruvian counterparts by building a corral for two Peace Corps horses behind their dormitory.

His auto driving and mechanics classes proved abortive, and he became frustrated by constant breakdowns in the Peace Corps vehicles for which he was responsible.

He also knocked down a pedestrian with his vehicle in nearby Huaraz, and incurred the wrath of the police when he tried to "arrange" the consequences of the accident.

All this led to a deterioration of his relationship with the more popular of the two Volunteer leaders, Alfred, and the report concluded that Allan "appeared to be both insecure personally, and socially isolated from his peers." He asked for, and received, a transfer to Mita, another Ancash Department village. The Cornell Peru Report rates his ten months in Vicos as "undistinguished."

Actually, the transfer proved beneficial. Allan's contributions to Mita helped that village to rise appreciably on the social scale structure.

Of the 13 Volunteers who served in Vicos, Anita built up the strongest

single Peace Corps program. She was one of the few Volunteers who picked up the local language, Quechua, and she branched out from her first assignment as a home demonstration agent to start a school.

Virtually single handed, the report says, Anita opened a new sectional school comprising one third of the school plants in Vicos, and she taught 20 pupils who otherwise would have had no education that year.

"Most importantly," the researchers say, "Anita built up a very warm personal relationship with her pupils and the people."

When the Vicosinos expelled the Volunteers, they rescinded their action a few weeks later and asked the Peace Corps to return. Specifically, they wanted Anita back.

"Anita, and only she among the Volunteers assigned to the Ancash Program, laid a lasting foundation of human relationships that led to continuance of a Peace Corps program in Vicos," says the report.

Another Volunteer, Adam, fared less well.

He inspired a forestation project, got the seeds planted, and then left on holiday. When he returned, he found 10,000 seedlings dead for lack of irrigation.

He promoted a hot shower facility, obtained funds from the community council, and then laid the foundations. Then he tired of the activity and abandoned the project. Nobody bothered to finish it.

Adam, a talented musician, encouraged young Vicosinos to purchase instruments. Then he found that he really didn't like the kind of music the Peruvians preferred. The Indian boys had to go elsewhere for instruction.

Adam's final disaster involved the loss of the community's $200 automatic gasoline-engine power sprayer. He saddled it to a pack horse, which promptly bucked the clattering machine off its back and wrecked it.

The conclusion on Adam: he assisted the expansion of Vicos agriculture by transporting local potatoes to a nearby market in the Peace Corps truck. But at the same time he rendered useless several of the scarce resources of Vicos: a jeep, a hot water heater (for the shower) and a power sprayer.

After a year of work in Vicos, Adam joined the Volunteers who were engaged in the rehabilitation of a nearby Indian community named Chancos, where the Peace Corps launched several projects that helped that village develop a tourist industry.

Another Vicos Volunteer who shifted his efforts to Chancos was Alfred, a Volunteer leader whose position in Vicos was central to the dispute that eventually led to the expulsion of the Peace Corps.

Alfred set out to organize a community accounting system and to train a Vicosino to take it over. As bookkeeper for the town council, he assumed an important role in the life of Vicos.

Alfred had difficulty finding someone to train, and the Indians became suspicious of his accounting methods, partly because they are naturally wary of anyone who handles funds and partly because Alfred did not seem interested enough in details. Further misunderstanding developed when Alfred refused to comply with community and Peruvian staff demands that he make some "anachronistic" changes in the system.

In his work, Alfred for a time controlled funds of individuals who subscribed to a Cornell-initiated community marketing system. He found this tedious. At least twice he shortchanged farmers. When one of them complained, Alfred refused to entertain the thought that he had made an error. He insulted the Indian and showed him to the door.

Later, Alfred rechecked his books and found that he had erred. He paid the farmer, but it was too late, for the Indian was an influential man who

Julia and Irwin Zagar direct a craft project which is making Chucuito economically self-sufficient. Here Julia advises knitting co-op members.

Potato planting in Chijnaya: a farmer turns the soil highabove the communal farm founded by a Volunteer in 1963.

spread the word that Alfred was not to be trusted.

A transaction involving the rental of a hotel thermal bath complex in nearby Chancos triggered the final crisis.

The Expulsion

Many Volunteers had become interested in and worked on the rehabilitation of the tourist installation. Alfred served as architect, project engineer, and foreman, and it was he who took the lead in arranging for joint Peace Corps-Vicos community management of the thermal baths and hotel.

"In short run terms," the Cornell Peru Report says, "the provisions (for joint management) may well have placed the Vicos community in a more precarious financial position than it would otherwise have occupied."

This sentiment, compounded by the long standing personal grudges and enmities built up over a 17-month period, precipitated a community meeting. The wife of a local official and a P.N.I.P.A. administrator provoked the community to challenge Alfred and the other Volunteers. "The many mistakes in social relations the Volunteers made came home to roost," states the report, "as those Vicosinos who had lost something at the hands of the Volunteers demanded action against them. Despite the efforts of a member of the Peace Corps staff who had many friends and a long acquaintance with Vicos, the Cornell coordinator, and the P.N.I.P.A. Lima headquarters, the Volunteers were expelled from Vicos by community decision in March, 1964."

Two weeks later the Vicosinos formally petitioned to have Anita and other Volunteer teachers return. The report says that Anita was "the one person who had already achieved a positive and notable impact." She became the model for later Vicos requests for Volunteers. Most of the others in the original group were asked to remain in Chancos.

The report calls the decision to expel the Volunteers a "highly significant and an important experience for the former serfs of Vicos."

"Few, and possibly no other similar rural Indian population or Mestizo townsmen in the Peruvian Andes, would risk expelling from its midst a body of persons enjoying the high prestige that Peace Corps Volunteers had in the Callejón Valley," the report concludes.

"The fact that the Vicos ex-serfs were able to make such a decision at all, even though they did so under the manipulation of anti-American agitators and without a full comprehension of the nature of the expulsion, reflected the great social distance these Indians have traveled since their days of serfdom."

Villagers in the Urubamba Valley celebrate their community's festival day, which comes once a year.

A 'scatterbrained' PCV

Agatha, who barely made it to Peru with the Peace Corps, floundered around in two posts for six months before she finally made it to Carhuaz. But her third post proved the charm.

The Cornell Peru Report suggests that her experience demonstrates several lessons in selection, assignments, and staff patience with independent-minded Volunteers.

At the end of training, she was ticketed for a return home on medical grounds. The reason: low red blood corpuscle count. But the Peace Corps sent her to Peru anyway. She had fluent Spanish and high motivation, the report says, and the doctors figured life in the high Andes would help the corpuscles.

Once in Peru, Agatha's difficulties mounted. "She underwent something of a traumatic experience in the coastal city (Chimbote) where she was initially assigned," says the report.

So she was transferred to Vicos, but there she found that the literacy program she had applied for was overstaffed and that her second choice, home demonstration agent, was also unavailable.

Finally, six months after her arrival in Peru, she was sent to the city of Carhuaz, a provincial capital of 2,175 persons. It was there, as the only Volunteer in town, that she made her mark. The Peace Corps assigned her to Carhuaz at the request of the Public Charity Society, which operates a hospital in the city.

Agatha resided in the hospital and assisted in operating the plant. She found it lacking adequate bathing and toilet facilities for patients and staff, and she promptly went about organizing a series of fund raising activities to finance improvements. When she obtained about $300, she asked Newton, a Volunteer stationed nearby, to direct construction. The hospital thus gained showers, tubs, three toilets, and an electric hot water heater.

Carhuaz residents paid a slight fee to use the showers, the first such public facility in town.

Agatha also set up a beauty parlor, gave local women permanent waves for a small fee, and trained several girls as beauticians.

She was asked to serve on a local board to help reactivate a welfare agency, and this resulted in the distribution of surplus food and clothing to needy Indian families.

Agatha also taught English to elementary pupils and organized dancing classes in the school.

The Cornell research team found her to be extremely popular in Carhuaz —and they also found tangible results of her work. Carhuaz, which had 63.5 points on the social structure scale, gained a point during Agatha's stay. "The fact that Agatha was able to increase the score of a provincial capital—which is not an easy feat because provincial capitals already score high and possess many of the characteristics that fall within the normal capability of Volunteers to introduce—constituted a very significant achievement," the report says.

"Significant results were achieved not because she dispersed her efforts in the Carhuaz community at large," concludes the report, "but because her efforts were concentrated on a specific local institution, in each case with marked success."

Throughout all this, Agatha emerges as a lively and highly independent personality who gave Peace Corps staff some headaches.

"She frequently abused Peace Corps vacation rules and was disciplined for her infractions," says the report. "She often gave the Peace Corps country staff the impression that she was 'scatterbrained' but harmless."

But, the report adds, "had the Peace Corps selection procedures followed 'the book,' or had the Peace Corps country officials lost all confidence in Agatha at any time before she began to show some positive results in Carhuaz, her final success could not have occurred."

"Given the opportunity and considerable 'pushing' from members of the staff, she finally established a record of accomplishment that turned out to be far better than might have been expected after her first six months in Peru. This Volunteer's great fluency in Spanish, her vivaciousness, and her high motivation, appear to have been the keys to the positive impact she achieved."

Volunteers bolster AID

Direct United States aid to Andean communities proved more effective when it was distributed by Peace Corps Volunteers.

This is the conclusion of the Cornell research team, which carefully observed the distribution of material aid through Volunteers in the Peruvian highlands.

In many instances, the researchers discovered, the Special Projects Program of the Agency for International Development afforded Volunteers material resources to work on development projects that they could not have managed on their own, nor with Peace Corps resources.

By the same token, Volunteers helped make the Special Projects Program a success by providing its staff with information about possible programs.

Such mutual reinforcement, the report suggests, shows that "U.S. material aid dispensed under Volunteer supervision would achieve greater impact than either Volunteers without materials, or goods sans Volunteers."

The report is laced with instances of Volunteer applications of the microeconomic programs of the Agency for International Development.

In the Ancash Department village of Mita, for example, Volunteer-A.I.D. interaction contributed greatly to a dramatic boost in the village's social scale ranking over a two year period.

Materially, the reinforcement involved little more than a couple of sewing machines, a few books, a handful of sheep, and a movie projector.

In 1963, A.I.D. contracted with the National Farmers' Union to bring 18 Peruvians to the U.S. for six months to study agriculture. Before their departure, several of these Peruvians received English instruction and orientation from Volunteers.

Among them was the leader of the Mita community, who on his return organized a goat production coopera-

Volunteer Mike Manetsch uses A.I.D. tool to help cut irrigation canal.

"The responsibility of our time is nothing less than to lead a revolution—a revolution which will be peaceful if we are wise enough; human if we care enough; successful if we are fortunate enough—but a revolution which will come whether we will it or not. We can affect its character; we cannot alter its inevitability. . . . If you in Peru—if we in all the Americas — can build a society free and just, in which the products of man's inventive mind are turned to the service of his heart—then it will be here that others take their model, here that they will find answers to their problems."

Senator Robert F. Kennedy, in a speech to Peruvian university students, November, 1965.

tive. In this he was assisted by Allan, who had moved to Mita after an unsuccessful tour of service at Vicos (see Page 10).

A sheep raising cooperative was organized in 1964; with Allan's advice, with funds from the Special Projects Program to finance the purchase of 28 young ewes and two rams, with leadership and support from within the community, the cooperative proved successful.

Another Volunteer, Nelly, was assigned to the Peruvian National School Feeding Plan, but she visited Mita once a week to give sewing classes to women. The classes were made possible when A.I.D. provided Mita with two sewing machines for instructional purposes.

A.I.D. had also provided books for a local library, and later contributed a portable movie projector.

The report says that "cooperation between Volunteers and the A.I.D. mission has resulted in a very easily measured improvement in a rural indigenous community."

"Mita is a clear case of U.S. material aid having tremendously more effect when administered and channelled through Peace Corps Volunteers providing on-the-scene face-to-face interaction with the members of a community, than when this type of local personnel is not available," says the report.

In this case, Volunteers were able both to define necessities to the A.I.D. Special Projects Program, such as sewing machines and improved breeding stock, and to help in selecting the specified purchases to meet those necessities, such as when Allan journeyed to the sheep farm to help select the animals, the report notes.

Thus, the report says, through the efforts of the community leader, the local citizenry, Volunteers and A.I.D., Mita was able to achieve seven points on the social scale from 1962 to 1964, boosting its total to 25 points.

A number of the projects engaged in by Volunteers and A.I.D. in Peru did not show up as scale increases, yet the researchers found them important. The ingredients always involved Volunteer time, A.I.D. materials, and local labor and leadership.

The researchers observed the distribution of aid in communities where there were no Volunteers, and concluded that the Special Projects Program was roughly twice as effective working with Volunteers as it was working directly with rural settlements.

Furthermore, the report states, "it is important to note that the Special Projects Program was the only U.S.A.I.D.-Peru activity encountered affecting any of the settlements where Volunteers worked or even comparison communities studied during the 1962-1964 period, except for a brief Volunteer consultation with one contractor."

Finally, the report says that residents of rural Andean settlements where Volunteers worked during this period achieved only 8.1 per cent of their total scale increase due to community action by their own unaided efforts.

But 90 per cent of the rural highland community scale increases achieved during the period came about through the combined efforts of local residents, Peruvian government agencies, A.I.D.'s Special Projects Program, and Peace Corps Volunteers.

Volunteer Dolores R. Aguayo teaches Spanish to a class of Indian children in the Andean village of Cuyo Chico.

Peasant farmer from Urubamba, the "sacred valley" of the Incas.

Sex makes an impact

Sex played a role in the Peace Corps impact in Peru.

Actions speak louder than words, the Cornell Peru Report says, and in several instances the research team catalogued the action in terms of what they call the "physical narcissism of young females."

Dr. Henry F. Dobyns, one of the authors of the report, says that the narcissist cases concerned girls who had been both culturally and socially conditioned to get by on their sex appeal.

The report suggests that behavioral patterns constitute a form of nonverbal communication — perhaps one of the most important forms — in shaping Peruvian impressions of Peace Corps Volunteers.

The behavior of one female Volunteer in particular seems to have made a greater impact on a male Volunteer than on the Peruvians.

This case came to the attention of the research team despite the fact that the girl involved did not come within the analytical sample of the 50 Volunteers.

"The physical message of sexual promise this Volunteer conveyed to another male Volunteer was so great compared to the reality of fulfillment, that this frustration, perhaps combined with cultural shock and other factors, rendered the male Volunteer completely unfit for effective work in Peru," states the report.

The Cornell team reports that "physical behavior by a few young Peace Corps Volunteers that proved provocative to others created a certain number of inefficiencies among other Volunteers and in relationship with male Peruvians."

The researchers found only two "female narcissists" within the sample.

A common behavioral pattern followed by female narcissists, says the report, is that of retreating into personal grooming under stress—"a form of mild apathy, a withdrawal from rather than effort to cope actively with the source of stress."

The two cases falling within the sample were those of Audrey and Annabelle. In terms of affecting or building institutions during their terms of service, both girls ranked among the lowest of the Volunteers charted by the researchers.

Audrey and Annabelle were assigned to the home demonstration project. They also helped the research staff at Vicos take a census at the beginning of 1963.

Home demonstration agents encouraged household cleanliness, sanitary and dietary measures. They also taught sewing classes and gave cooking demonstrations. Although the classes made "distinct gains" for the Indian women in Vicos, the people affected represented a relatively small portion of the total population, says the research team.

The researchers state that as far as they could determine, Annabelle made no significant contribution toward strengthening any organizations in Peru.

Audrey, however, was reassigned to Puno in 1964, and under close staff supervision she was able to make some contributions there. At times, the research staff reports, she was also able to use her "flirtatious behavior" to good advantage. In Lima, for example, she was able to talk an elderly male archivist into locating documents in connection with her project, when male Volunteers weren't able to talk the archivist into cooperating.

Both Annabelle and Audrey devoted a great deal of their time to "grooming and personal beautification."

The researchers compare the two female narcissists they had observed to similar cases of North American housewives in Colombia who had to undergo psychiatric treatment in that country because of their inability to adjust to the Colombian culture. "The lack of initiative in working with Peruvian institutions displayed by the Volunteers under discussion, so that they seem to have achieved some measure of success only under close supervision, appears to us to resemble the

lack of internal resources discerned among the U.S. housewives undergoing psychotherapy in Colombia. They did not know what to do with themselves."

The report suggests that such cases can be isolated in training—by noting excessive retreat into personal grooming. Also, the report adds, "it is precisely the young female candidate who fails to absorb the knowledge offered during area studies in the training program who is likely to develop into a Volunteer with ignorant or erroneous perception of local culture that places her under stress, in constant fear of offending, suffering ridicule, or breaking local ethical norms."

In contrast to Audrey and Annabelle, three equally attractive female Volunteers were able to achieve "notable successes at institution building."

But with "physical characteristics certain to attract male attention to them in either the U.S. or Peru," Agatha, Anita, and Carmen underemphasized their charms. The report notes that during training "at least two of these girls were embarrassed by their physical attractiveness."

Primping Eases Stress

Two of the Volunteers were Spanish-Americans and thus were able to operate efficiently in the dominant culture group in Peru; in terms of sexual competition, one of them seemed to the researchers to have been able to compete on equal terms with Peruvian women.

All three girls seemed to display great physical energy, according to the study. Two of them walked several kilometers uphill every day to teach classes at altitudes of over 10,000 feet above sea level. Anita and Agatha were extroverts, and Anita and Carmen seemed to be "genuinely in love with the people with whom they worked, particularly their pupils."

The Indians, for example, evince a utilitarian attitude toward their clothing and wear their work clothing until it wears out. If Anita burned a hole in her skirt while cooking a meal, she continued to wear it until it wore out, "without the anxiety to appear always well-dressed displayed by other female Volunteers."

Carmen, who was assigned to Cuyo Chico in Cuzco Department, was so popular there, judged the researchers, that when she left, the other teachers gave her a big farewell party (but turned a little resentful when students and parents cried at her departure). The other Volunteers in Cuyo Chico were dispatched with little ceremony and not much notice, says the report.

"In terms of predicting Volunteer success and Peace Corps selection procedures," the researchers conclude, Agatha, Anita, and Carmen showed "interest in area studies during training and showed evidence of significant learning during the entire training program." They continued to learn in Peru, while "the unsuccessful Volunteers primped instead of making an efficient and integrated effort to reduce the source of at least one form of psychological stress."

A 'model Volunteer'

Perry's first community action project as a Peace Corps Volunteer in the Peruvian Andes was to set up a barber in business. When he left Peru 2½ years later, Perry had organized one village and transformed another.

In his two assigned areas, Huancollusco and Chijnaya, Perry tried more than a dozen projects including anthropology classes, consumer cooperatives, and windmill irrigation.

He had a fair share of failures. But his successes were formidable enough for Cornell researchers to call the way he worked "truly a model of the Peace Corps ideal image."

Perry's first home was a rented one room house in the Jatun Ayllu section of Huancollusco in southeastern Peru.

Huancollusco is an Indian settlement in the district of Taraco, situated near the town of Taraco. Jatun Ayllu has an estimated 1,200 inhabitants.

For nine months, Perry divided his time between Jatun Ayllu and the city of Puno, where on weekends he taught anthropology at the National School of Social Work. He devoted his earnings there to financing community improvements in Jatun Ayllu.

One of his first projects was a financial investment which paid off. Perry loaned $18.65 to a local resident who had acquired the skills of a professional barber while a temporary migrant outside Huancollusco. Jatun Ayllu soon enjoyed for the first time the services of a professional barber, resident in the community of Huancollusco. Also, the barber charged other members of this Indian community less for haircuts than did the Mestizo barbers in nearby Taraco.

In one year, the barber was able to repay the loan to Perry, and he became a completely independent operator.

Perry took an active interest in the education and the recreation of the people of Huancollusco.

Within three months, he was teaching literacy classes in three neighborhoods of Jatun Ayllu. The enrollment was 96, 50, and 29 in the respective neighborhoods, with attendance running about 50 per cent of enrollment. Perry found that about half his students could read and merely required practice in order to improve their reading skills.

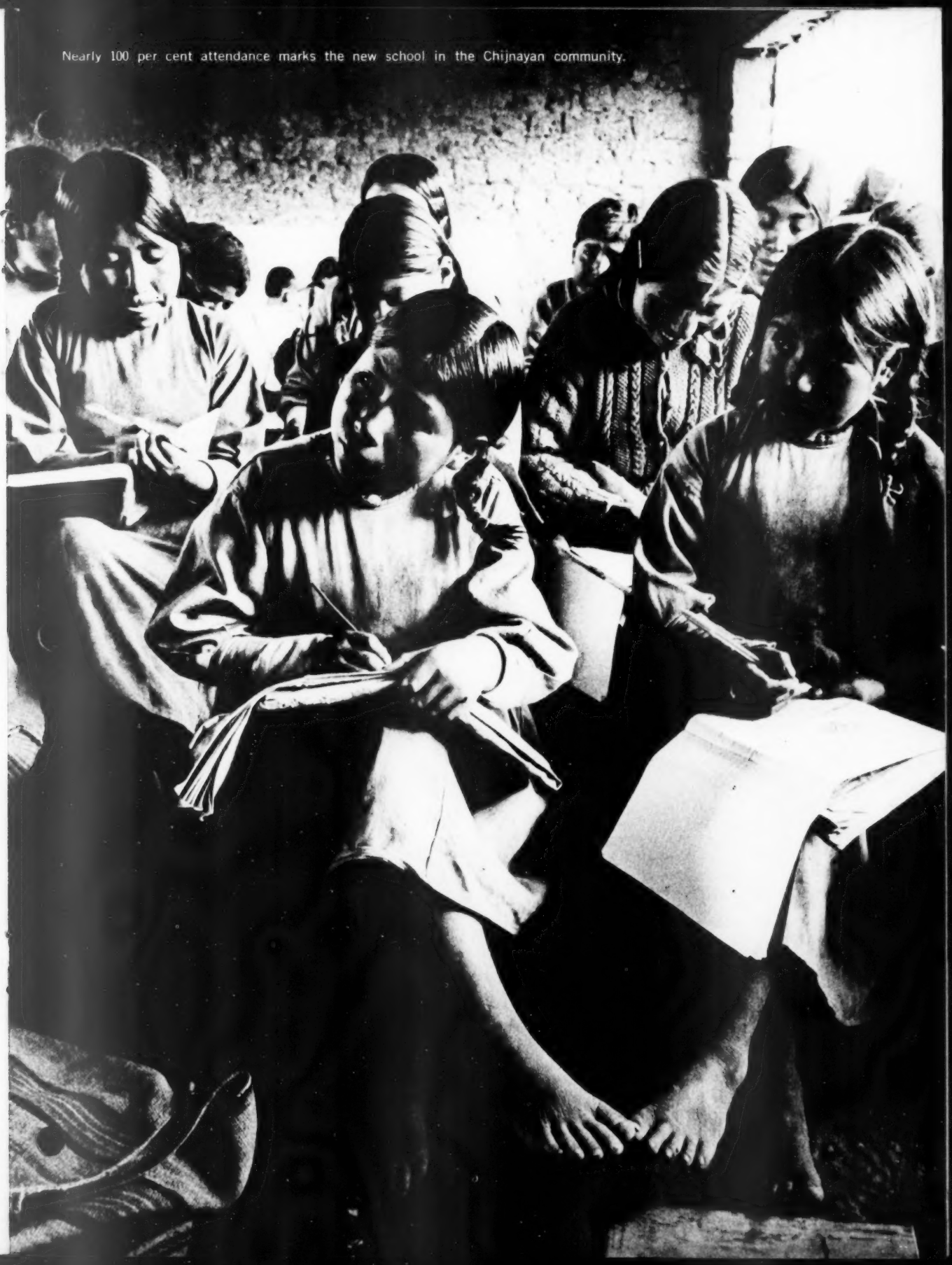
He began lending members of his classes and other peasants reading materials after each class session. Old textbooks, copies of *Life* magazine in Spanish, and newspapers were eagerly borrowed. Perry made 279 loans of reading materials during the first five weeks of the library.

Perry also found that the Indian settlements lacked recreation aside from festivals, dances, and market days. Sports were played in only some settlements. Concluding that the lack of activities to break the monotony of rural life led to a high rate of alcohol consumption by the peasants, Perry set out to organize sports clubs. He felt that team play might also foster habits of working together.

Perry succeeded in organizing clubs at a school in Huancollusco, and in two neighborhoods of Jatun Ayllu. These groups met weekly to play soccer, basketball, and volleyball with equipment supplied by the Peace Corps.

The people of Jatun Ayllu were enthusiastic about Perry's idea for a community center where various activities might be carried on under the same roof, and they contributed materials and labor to construct the four room building.

The tool for community action used most by Perry was the cooperative. He started several consumers' co-ops in Jatun Ayllu. Each cooperative made its own purchases, and consolidated purchasing was eventually tried, but the cooperatives did not prove to be enduring organizations. Perry transferred to a different program before



Nearly 100 per cent attendance marks the new school in the Chijnayan community.

his work had had sufficient time to jell.

Perry also became interested in forming a producers' cooperative among the women, to weave and knit alpaca wool scarves. This effort took more time, but it appears to have more chances for lasting success than the consumer ventures, the report says.

In December, 1963, Perry left Huancollusco, having effected the most rapid rate of change of any highland Indian community where Peace Corps Volunteers worked during 1962-64. The only exception, cites the Cornell Report, was Chijnaya which, because of its newness, was "an artificially swiftly improving settlement."

Perry moved to Chijnaya. Through July, 1965 (he extended his Peace Corps service) he worked among the 315 people of that transplanted community.

Chijnaya's birth was itself an exercise in community action.

Early in 1963, Lake Titicaca overflowed and destroyed large sections of the Taraco district. Indian peasants had to move, leaving their homes and lands under water.

Perry, along with the sub-director and other representatives from the Puno Development Corporation, devised a plan to move some of the families to safer ground. Preparations were made for a resettlement project in Chijnaya, then an estate owned by the church and situated near the town of Pucará, 62 miles from Taraco.

At first, most of the people were suspicious of the offers to help. Rumors circulated that this was a Communist plot, or that the Indians would be slaughtered by the *gringos* to make grease for their machines, or carried off to work in the jungles.

But some were not disturbed by the rumors, and 74 families committed themselves to the experiment.

Fame Follows

The first task for the settlers was to build temporary sod houses, since there was no housing. Perry helped them form a cooperative organization through which loans were handled for new houses, a school, and a community center. Perry also helped start a consumers' cooperative, a small retail store to cater to their immediate needs.

Chijnaya mushroomed.

Community plantings were increased. The scrawny cattle belonging to the members of the new settlement were pooled, forming another cooperative designed to upgrade livestock and improve grazing procedures. One immediate result of cooperative cattle management was that children were no longer required to shepherd animals, allowing them to attend school.

The community actively supported the educational programs under Perry's guidance, and school attendance surpassed that in larger neighboring towns. After a campaign of petitioning the Ministry of Public Education, the community obtained recognition for its school, and the Ministry sent three teachers.

Chijnaya is most famous for its alpaca wool and its tapestries.

Perry conceived the idea of creating a cooperative for marketing handspun alpaca wool for local weavers in the coastal cities and abroad. The women of Chijnaya, idled by the cooperative management of cattle and lacking homemaking chores to occupy them, readily joined in the project, even though spinning was traditionally a male specialty.

Another Peace Corps Volunteer, not working at Chijnaya but interested in handcraft activities, suggested that the children try their hands at embroidery. Perry encouraged some children to sew multicolored tapestries depicting local scenes on plain homespun cloth.

At first these tapestries were a novelty. Then Perry discovered that he could sell them, and he encouraged the children to expand their efforts. They did so eagerly, and now more than 200 children embroider tapestries for "fun and profit."

Perry arranged marketing in Lima and in the U.S. By August, 1965, this enterprise had earned almost $10,000 and is expanding.

The arts and crafts industry of Chijnaya is also paying back to the Peruvian government the funds used to found the community (an investment totaling some $200,000).

Of Chijnaya, the Cornell Report says, "Without Perry, the project would not even have started, much less enjoyed the success that it has to date."

Perry was successful as a Volunteer because of the way he worked, say the researchers.

"Perry consistently lived among the people with whom he was working, and largely at their own economic level," the report adds. "Both in Jatun Ayllu and Chijnaya his housing could not in any way be distinguished from that of his neighbors."

Especially important, according to the report, was Perry's command of Spanish which allowed him to communicate his ideas effectively and when necessary, to utilize an interpreter (from Spanish to Quechua) to full advantage. Perry also learned enough Quechua to "know what was going on most of the time."

Perry conducted preliminary studies prior to undertaking any large scale program. He talked widely with the people of Jatun Ayllu before initiating any project with the people in the area of his first assignment.

"He showed great patience and persistence in dealing with the sluggish local bureaucrats and the people themselves," the researchers say.

"The trust and confidence placed in him by the people of Chijnaya and the Puno Development Corporation," they conclude, "were equaled in degree in the case of few, if any, other Volunteers studied by the Cornell Peru Project."

Fluency: a major factor

Peace Corps Volunteers must really command the host country language in order to win the respect of its citizens, if not to achieve significant program results, concludes the Cornell Peru Report.

But the research team also suggests that fluency in Spanish is only a minimal requirement for Volunteer impact in Peru and is not any guarantee of success.

Technological skills, relative age, and forceful personalities with great persistence are forms of non-verbal communication through which Volunteers with lesser language facility achieve "institutional impact," says the report.

The researchers based their study on the assumption that fluency in spoken Spanish as measured by the Foreign Service Institute would correctly pre-

dict Volunteer achievement. This prediction turned out to be correct in 58 per cent of the sample cases.

"By dividing the Volunteers into fluent and non-fluent Spanish speakers who built or did not build Peruvian institutions," the report states, "we find 29 cases of Volunteers out of 50 who follow the prediction that fluency in spoken Spanish permitted effective program impact."

"More important," it continues, "in terms of Peace Corps selection and training procedures, is the finding that 42 per cent of the sample did not follow the prediction."

Of this group, 12 Volunteers (24 per cent of the sample), were not necessarily high in achievement although they spoke Spanish well, and nine Volunteers (18 per cent of the sample) who did not speak Spanish well still managed to achieve a high level of "institution building."

In three cases within the "under-achievement" group (low impact despite fluency), researchers felt brevity of assignment within the regions under study did not permit individuals who spoke Spanish well to achieve any measurable impact on local institutions.

In four cases, Volunteers were unable to apply much of their language learning to their program activities.

According to the report, one of these Volunteers "accomplished little save to teach himself fluency in the Spanish language." Another "racked up a most disheartening record of starting new projects but never finishing any."

Three of these Volunteers shared an assignment to a Peruvian field program whose director never managed to assert his authority over the Volunteers and was able neither to provide them with more mature direction than their own whims, nor to support effectively the projects they did undertake.

Other Volunteers in the "under-achievement" category were apparently limited in part by the nature of their assignments to Peruvian institutions that absorbed nearly all of their time and energies so that they could not carry on the kind of multi-organizational activities typical of most Volunteers in the sample.

Age-old knitting skills of Aymaran women in Chucuito are being put to use.

In the "over-achievement" group (Volunteer impact despite lack of fluency), in five cases, the technological knowledge and skill of the Volunteer in using his or her hands was outstanding.

Researchers note one Volunteer in particular who "delighted in making things, and could make or do a wide variety of things useful to the community. These skills he coupled with an innovative and inquiring mind. He was seldom if ever idle and persisted until his projects were finished."

Personality traits of a different sort also accounted for the "over-achievement" Volunteers. In one case, the report notes, "enthusiastic loquaciousness substituted to a large extent for lack of fluency in Spanish."

The location of his post aided another Volunteer. He operated a model farm situated at the side of a main highway. Thousands of "potential clients" drove, rode, and walked by his post, and the Volunteer, Preston, seems to have done quite well with them without great language facility.

Although the study was based on fluency in Spanish, the research touched upon the difficulty of learning and, at times, the necessity of speaking Indian dialects, particularly Quechua.

According to the report, "the mortality rate among Volunteers was far, far higher at the second linguistic barrier of learning Quechua than at the first linguistic barrier of learning Spanish."

The vital role of the Quechua language in Volunteer impact in the integration problems in Indian Peru is illustrated in the sharp distinction the Vicos Indians drew between a Quechua-speaking Volunteer (Anita) and other Volunteers stationed at Vicos who did not speak Quechua.

An antagonistic government employee speaking fluent Quechua helped a private individual who was anti-American and anti-Peace Corps (see Page 10) to persuade the Indians to expel the contingent from the community.

"Had the other Volunteers stationed at Vicos spoken Quechua," says the report, "it is quite doubtful whether the agitation of the two malcontents could ever have succeeded in bringing about the expulsion of the Volunteers."

"The Volunteers would have been able to learn of the rumor campaigns launched against them and to counter them. They would have found Indian friends to defend them sooner and more effectively."

One Volunteer in Peru, Curt, made quite an impact by an unusual method: holding his liquor well. Because of his older age and his excellent physical condition, Peruvians considered him very *macho,* or manly. "This accolade was firmly stamped on Curt by his capacity to drink any Peruvian under the table," the Cornell Peru Report says. On one occasion, a local group challenged Peace Corps Volunteers to a drinking match. Curt, the Volunteer champion, matched his Peruvian competitor glass for glass "until the Peruvian quietly slid under the table." Curt didn't stop there. He carried the Peruvian outside, then invited the spectators to help him finish the *pisco* (national drink).

Lima papers seen liking Peace Corps

The Cornell Peru Report says the Peace Corps has a good press.

The researchers paid considerable attention to Peace Corps coverage in Lima newspapers and concluded that the reporting was "rather overwhelmingly favorable in tone."

Editors and reporters seemed to like the Peace Corps very much. In fact, more than half the articles appearing from 1961 to 1964 were rated "positive" in a Cornell table that ranks stories from "positive-enthusiastic" to "opposed."

The study focused on the eight Lima dailies, which dominate newspaper circulation among Peru's 10 million citizens.

"Metropolitan newspapers circulate large numbers of copies throughout the Peruvian provinces," says the report. "A generalized public opinion about the Peace Corps program in Peru has been formed among newspaper readers that is an addition to whatever direct experiences residents in the Andes may have had with Volunteers and their activities in many different communities in all parts of the country."

According to the study, 375 articles about the Peace Corps appeared during the research period. A third of them were in the morning paper, *La Prensa.* And the Peace Corps hit the front pages a total of 30 times.

"Positive" articles made up 55.5 per cent of the total coverage, says the report. Another 42.1 per cent of all stories identified were rated as neutral —indicating a straight news treatment.

Another 2.1 per cent of the articles were neutral in handling but reported criticism of the Peace Corps. Among the "positive" stories, 3.5 per cent also reported criticism.

About a fourth of all stories were said to be "positively enthusiastic."

"One story in twenty reported criticisms," says the report, "and anti-Peace Corps reporting was conspicuous by its absence."

The Peace Corps had no public information operation in Peru during the time of the study.

Job site is important

A job assignment can mean the difference between success or failure as a Peace Corps Volunteer, the Cornell Peru Report says.

"Volunteers assigned to relatively ill-defined jobs with poor local supervision felt most dissatisfied with their accomplishments and most in need of administrative support," the research team states.

Of the 50 Volunteers sampled, the report says, "the lone Volunteers had one chance in ten of achieving significant impacts while the Volunteers working with other agencies effectively had nine chances in ten of succeeding" in rural community development assignments.

These agencies include one or a combination of government (such as P.N.I.P.A.), church, A.I.D., or local community action groups.

The report also concludes that all Volunteers can use advice—whether they like it or not.

"Although Volunteers complained about the Peace Corps staff, they appeared to benefit from all the supervision and consultation they could be afforded," says the report.

The research team also found some prejudice against transfers on the part of Peace Corps country staff, despite the fact that many Volunteers did much better when they were sent to another post.

A researcher discovered that the staff had tended to rate Volunteers assigned to more than one place lower than Volunteers who stuck with their initial assignment.

The report attributes this attitude to the fact that obviously satisfied Volunteers, such as those involved in well-defined projects, tended to remain at their first post. One of the most satisfying jobs in Peru, for example, was pupil feeding, which provided "clearly identifiable responsibilities within the capabilities of Volunteers." And feeding youngsters proved emotionally satisfying, too.

But some tasks proved difficult, even impossible, and obviously were less satisfying to Volunteers. In some cases, transfers seemed to have paid dividends, even when the second job proved tougher. Volunteers who were not successful the first time around, says the report, "succeeded in more than two cases out of three when given a second chance."

A good example was the Chancos rehabilitation project, which attracted many Volunteers, especially those from the "frustrating" Vicos program. "The psychology of the Peace Corps Volunteer who wishes to leave behind him a tangible physical monument of his foreign assignment came to the front" in Chancos, the report observes. Volunteers rebuilt the town and gave it a tourist industry.

A successful transfer cited was that of Parker. Initially assigned to teach in the Taraco trade school in southeastern Peru, he found that the school really wanted a cabinet-maker, not a

A farmer tills rich bottom land nea

carpenter, and Parker was not a cabinet-maker. He was not allowed to do much teaching, which was a blow to his ego. His relationships with his counterparts and the Peruvian program director deteriorated to the point where he was not even allowed admittance to the school shops. On several occasions, the report says, he was forced to climb through a window into the school shop to retrieve things he had left there.

When the Peruvian agency (P.N.I.P.A.) refused to help pay for shipping some livestock he had acquired for Indian farmers, Parker called the program director in Cuzco Department, and obtained a transfer to Cuzco. There, the report says, "he was able to contribute materially to establishing a firmer economic production base for the local Indian population" by diversifying, enlarging, and improving livestock production.

Volunteer carelessness often noted

Lumber warped. Twenty bags of cement turned into stone. Tools and jeep parts scattered. Ten thousand eucalyptus seedlings dead.

These are some of the results of the work—or lack of work—on the part of a handful of Volunteers in the Ancash and Puno-Tambopata programs in the Peruvian Andes. And it was *"muy descuidado"* (very careless) of them, say the Peruvians with whom they worked.

Indeed, the Cornell research team found that one of the most significant impressions that Volunteers as a group conveyed to Peruvians by their behavior was that of carelessness, both with people and with things.

Lack of the necessary repair and maintenance of motor vehicles as well as disregard for the care of mechanical equipment and tools comprised the bulk of the carelessness.

More serious incidents occurred when Volunteers failed to show consideration in their personal dealings with Peruvians or when they did not follow through on projects they had started, the research team says.

By judgment of the Cornell investigators, Peace Corps motor vehicles often suffered at the hands of Volunteers. In some instances Volunteers left auto parts to be repaired without informing staff members that repairs were needed and where the parts were being repaired.

Once a Cornell researcher had a flat tire half way up the road into the mountains and discovered that the vehicle's equipment lacked a jack. And when a bumper fell off a Peace Corps vehicle, the Volunteer driving at the time simply did not stop to pick it up.

A recurrent theme in researchers' interviews with counterparts and host country nationals after the sample Volunteers departed from Peru was carelessness about tools, particularly tools belonging to Peruvian organizations.

For example, when Adam abandoned an auto mechanics class, he left the demonstration jeep in a non-functional state. The jeep parts were left scattered around the yard and under the roof where the jeep had been kept.

Adam also discontinued a hot showers installation project after a little more than two weeks of labor. Lumber purchased by the village council warped and bags of cement from the Cornell project turned into stone.

Patrick took tools out into the patio when he taught, left them, and they disappeared. Possibly the students took them, according to the center chief. In any event, there was a dispute, and each student was required to pay.

Inconsiderate behavior in personal contacts led to more serious incidents.

Allan, who cared for two Peace Corps horses, used as his "tack room" a room that had been designated by Peruvian teachers as their "club and game room." Allan had not asked permission to use the room. When the teachers managed to collect sufficient money to equip their club, they threw all the Peace Corps horse gear into the patio while the Volunteers slept, set up their own equipment, and placed a sign on the door for the first time.

Researchers blame Volunteer carelessness on the affluent society in which they were reared.

The majority of incidents cited are "examples of behavior engendered by the tremendous accumulation of wealth in the United States that alienates their citizens from the majority of the inhabitants of the globe who are poor," says the report.

For example, repair and maintenance services for motor vehicles and other mechanical equipment are easily available in the United States, but not in Peru, where gasoline stations are not found on every other corner.

Researchers note a "psychological gulf" created by this uneven distribution of wealth and contend that it cannot be completely overcome, even by a highly motivated Peace Corps Volunteer.

The report notes that it is hard even for a conscientious American Volunteer to comprehend the value of such items as matches or pennies to those who are at the bottom of the economic pyramid.

Customers eating in the Chancos restaurant during a winter rain storm found themselves drenched with water.

The roof, which had been recently redone with Volunteer help, was found to be lacking adequate tile supports. The traditional bamboo-like wood used to support the local tile roofs serves the function of carrying off to the eaves any water blown in under the loosely laid tiles.

The elimination of this traditional support by Alfred left the tiles both inadequately supported and without a secondary defense layer. The water blown in under the tiles, particularly when a tile or two became dislodged, ran down onto the sundried clay brick walls, melting them away at a serious rate. It was discovered that measures would have to be taken to reroof or divert the rainwater after only one year, or the whole structure would face the danger of collapse.

nd near the Andean village of Pisac.

IN THE HUDDLE: Director Sargent Shriver joins six football coaches who will be lending their recruitment talents to the Peace Corps as well as the campus as members of the Peace Corps Coaches Committee. They are, from left, Robert L. Blackman, Dartmouth; Earl Banks, Morgan State; Pete Elliott, Illinois; Darrell Royal, Texas; Shriver; John Ralston, Stanford; and Charles Pevey, Louisiana State. The coaches will promote the Peace Corps among varsity athletes and physical education majors, and advise Peace Corps sports community development programs.

Returnees at Work

More than half of all former Volunteers who have kept the Peace Corps up to date on their whereabouts are now employed, and more than a third are back in school.

At the beginning of 1966, the Career Information Service had the career plans of 4,915 Volunteers of the 6,446 who had completed initial service.

Of the 4,915 former Volunteers, 2,833 (52.6 per cent) were working and 1,920 (35.5 per cent) were in school.

The remaining 642 former Volunteers (11.9 per cent) include housewives, servicemen, retirees, and Volunteers who have extended or re-enrolled or are traveling.

Of those employed, teachers and government employees form the largest groups. A total of 282 former Volunteers are employed by Peace Corps. Another 140 are engaged in the War on Poverty, including 14 who have signed on as VISTA (domestic Peace Corps) volunteers.

Budget and Finance Chiefs Named

Managing Peace Corps money is the job of two new members of the Washington staff.

Morris W. Kandle, for the past 10 years one of the principal budget officers of the Department of Defense for operations and maintenance, has been appointed the first controller of the Peace Corps by Director Sargent Shriver.

Kandle will be in charge of all budget, finance, accounting, and auditing functions of the Peace Corps.

Kandle, 47, joined the Defense Department staff in 1949, as Assistant to the Chief of Plans and Programs for Air Force Personnel. In 1954, he became Chief of the Training and Communications Section for the agency's budget division and in 1958, Director of the Operations and Maintenance Division.

A native of Philadelphia, he was graduated in 1941 from Temple University with a bachelor's degree.

"The Peace Corps offers an opportunity to provide a model of financial operations for the whole federal government," says Kandle. "I feel this will be a very exciting challenge."

John M. Bossany has been named Chief of the Finance Branch in the Division of Volunteer Support.

Bossany, 28, was a member of the first group of Volunteers sent to the Philippines in 1961, and later served there as an Associate Representative for Management. He was also Regional Director of the southern Luzon area.

Bossany worked for 2½ years with a Chicago accounting firm. He holds a bachelor's degree in commerce from DePaul University.

Other staff changes include the appointment of Ralph L. Morris as Director of the Medical Program Division. He replaces James E. Banta, who has been reassigned to the National Institutes of Health.

Morris was Peace Corps physician in Tunisia for two years. He then joined the headquarters medical staff as Regional Medical Officer for Africa and later was appointed Deputy Director of the division.

Olin C. Robison, former Director of University Affairs for the Division of Recruitment, has left the Peace Corps to become a special assistant to U. Alexis Johnson, Deputy Undersecretary for Political Affairs in the Department of State. Robison's replacement has not been named.

Volunteer Drowns

Judith Anne Corley, 23, a Volunteer teacher in the Cameroon Republic, drowned Christmas Eve while swimming near Lagos, Nigeria.

Miss Corley was visiting other Peace Corps Volunteers in Lagos during the holidays.

A strong undercurrent pulled Miss Corley and a companion, Volunteer Ralph Davidson, away from the beach. Davidson was unable to save her because of the rough waves.

The victim taught English and social studies at St. Francis Teacher Training College in Fiango, Nkumba, west Cameroon. She had worked her way through St. Louis University and was graduated with a B.S. degree in English and education before entering Peace Corps training in the summer of 1965.

Lawrence Williams, representing the Peace Corps, and Minister Counsellor Paul Engo, from the Cameroon Embassy in Washington, D. C., attended her funeral ceremonies December 29 in St. Louis.

Miss Corley is survived by her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Vincent P. Corley and eight brothers and sisters.

MEDICO Dr. John Chappel treats a baby at a Malaysian clinic. MEDICO, founded by Tom Dooley, is now a CARE service.

The Peace Corps and CARE

By LOREN B. JENKINS

Konakritee is a tiny fishing village in the Port Loko district of Sierra Leone. Until 1962 its highly concentrated population of 800 men, women, and children had no latrines and no water supply, other than several sinkholes—all of which were contaminated and most of which were completely waterless during the six-month annual dry season.

Three years ago, clean, running water was piped for the first time into Konakritee, eliminating a major health hazard to the inhabitants who had suffered throughout the years from typhoid, amoebic dysentery, and a myriad of other water-borne maladies.

The water came from a gravity-flow well system constructed under a cooperative venture of CARE, the people of Konakritee, and the Peace Corps. Villagers supplied labor for the project; Peace Corps Volunteers provided the organization and the technical expertise. All the necessary tools, 24 bags of cement, 1000 feet of plastic water pipe, 11 feet of metal culvert, reinforcing rod, and 10 sheets of roofing material were provided by CARE.

To many Americans, CARE (Cooperative for American Relief Everywhere, Inc.) means a dollar donation for a food parcel to the destitute refugees of World War II. When CARE was founded in 1945, its sole function was to provide a means for Americans to send food packages to friends and relatives who had suffered the ravages of the European holocaust.

Today, however, CARE has moved far beyond the concept of providing stopgap relief in the wake of a devastating war. The original idea has been expanded to meet the different needs of the underdeveloped world, and instead of designated food contributions to individuals, CARE now conducts massive food-for-work and school feeding programs.

CARE's initial food distribution program has been transformed by Public Law 480, passed by Congress in 1954, to allow voluntary agencies to distribute American farm surpluses in the famine-ridden areas of what the French call "the third world." Under this law, CARE has built up a vast program of institutional feeding in schools and hospitals, distributing surplus powdered milk, corn meal, and vegetable oils to more than 37 million people every year, including 28 million school children.

In fact, the small relief agency, which in the first year of its existence spent only $500,000 to funnel food to Europe, has grown to a global agency which in the past year raised more than $10 million in individual contributions and delivered more than $89 million in food, medical, and material services to 35 nations.

CARE's transformation from a purely relief agency actually began in the late 1940's when its original mission was in part supplanted by the more encompassing Marshall Plan, and in part diverted by the growing awareness that there were many non-European nations in need of economic assistance—an assistance that would rely less on relief than on rehabilitation.

An Indian farmer cuts a deeper furrow with a specially designed CARE plow.

Volunteer Paul Wrobel gives a demonstration in Si

In 1950 CARE launched its "self-help" program which has provided the basis for CARE's role in the economic and social development of the emerging nations of Asia, Latin America, and Africa. Instead of a food package to bring momentary relief, CARE also began sending tool packages that would provide an impoverished farmer with the equipment to improve his life. The tool kit today might include anything from a simple plow to an elaborate well-drilling rig, a woodworking kit, or an outboard motor.

CARE's growing role as a material supplier in the underdeveloped world soon led it into community development. In the early 1950's, in the Philippines, CARE became deeply involved in a community development program, which emerged first under the auspices of the National Movement for Free Elections and later under President Ramon Magsaysay's P.A.C.D. (Presidential Assistant on Community Development) program. CARE provided the audio-visual materials, jeeps, self-help kits, and construction materials for the Philippines' continuing battle for better methods of cultivation, proper food preparation, hygiene, and public health—issues of great concern to the government then being challenged by the Communist-dominated HUK peasant rebellion.

By 1960, CARE could provide the tools; but, with the exception of MEDICO, its small medical arm, CARE could not provide the manpower frequently needed to train the recipient in the use of these tools. It is precisely in this area that President Kennedy's establishment of the Peace Corps opened a new dimension for CARE—a dimension that has proved mutually beneficial over the past four years. Where CARE had been hampered by its lack of personnel in the field, the Peace Corps could provide the manpower (especially in Colombia, Sierra Leone, Turkey, and Guatemala, where CARE planned and directly administered several Peace Corps groups). And similarly, where the Peace Corps was frequently hampered by a lack of equipment, CARE could provide the goods —whether it be audio-visual materials, trucks, shovels, or schoolroom notebooks.

In Sierra Leone, since 1962, for instance, CARE has administered Volunteers provided by the Peace Corps for a rural development program including road and school construction, the development of village water supplies, cooperative education, and outboard motor maintenance, and repair. In addition, a medical contingent based at Government Hospital in Magburaka supplied Volunteer doctors and nurses to staff public health programs, mother and child clinics, and rural health centers. (The last program was not renewed after its initial term. The lack of qualified medical personnel, particularly doctors, volunteering for the Peace Corps meant the abandonment of similar programs, including several that never got off the drawing boards.) CARE's logistical support for the CARE-Peace Corps Rural Development Program amounted to $100,000, and in the fiscal year just past CARE invested $122,186 in the joint programs.

Cooperation between the Peace Corps and CARE has ranged from all-out CARE formulation, training, and administration of rural community development programs in Sierra Leone, Turkey, and Colombia, to a Peace Corps Volunteer's use of CARE-supplied sports equipment kits in a secondary school physical education program in Lahore, Pakistan.

Though the relationship in general has been productive, it has not been without its storms. Difficulties, of course, are inherent in any situation in which one agency runs another's program. And, unfortunately, all the good intentions of both the Peace Corps and CARE have not managed to avoid the friction that results from ubiquitous inter-agency rivalries, personality clashes, in-field jurisdictional disputes, and the Peace Corps' too frequent mistrust of other agencies in the economic development field.

in Sierra Leone with a CARE audio-visual unit.

Guatemalan villagers make bricks for one of the many schools sponsored by CARE.

In a way, the difficulty of CARE's relations with the Peace Corps is an indication of a growing dilemma confronting CARE as a result of its ever increasing involvement with the American government—a reliance born of P.L. 480 food programs and nurtured by Peace Corps contracts, with their attractive offer of invaluable manpower. For as CARE has expanded in the last decade, benefiting from government support, its independence has decreased by the very nature of this support.

CARE has come a long way since the conclusion of World War II and has made a myriad of contributions to the welfare of needy peoples. It has now reached a point, however, where it is treading a tight rope between governmental dependence and its traditional freedom of action based on voluntary contributions. As it moves into its third decade then, its greatest challenge seems to be to what extent CARE can afford to bite the hand that feeds. Unless CARE can enlarge the base of its private support, it may lose its independence to creeping governmental controls; then it loses its whole reason for existence and might just as well turn over its operation to A.I.D.

A former Volunteer in Sierra Leone, Jenkins is now with United Press International in New York.

Dominican Republic children await a free school lunch distributed by CARE.

Former PCVs Aid Alaskan Poverty War

Three Peace Corps Volunteers have transferred their community development talents from the equator to the Arctic Circle by joining the Alaskan war on poverty.

Gerald Miller and Michael Valentine, former Volunteers in Ecuador, and Donald Johnson, who served in Guatemala, are field representatives for Alaska's Office of Economic Opportunity. They direct the anti-poverty program in three of O.E.O.'s four Alaskan regions. They coordinate VISTA (domestic Peace Corps) activities and meet directly with communities where there are no VISTA volunteers.

Governor William A. Egan says that the three returned Volunteers are making "the most constructive impact upon poverty in Alaska in its 100 years under the American flag."

"I can't say enough for these ex-P.C.V.s," the governor adds. "They're showing concrete results that are bettering the lives of thousands of our citizens."

"The projects in O.E.O. are essentially rural community development projects," says Miller. "We're helping the people help themselves, just as we did with the Indians in the Ecuadorean Andes."

The Alaskan population (about 250,000) reaps the highest individual earnings in the nation. But over 48,000 members of the same population, Aphapaskan Indians, Eskimos, and Aleuts, the "natives," have the lowest per capita income in the United States.

Miller, 43, pays a monthly rent of $180 for a one room apartment in Fairbanks where he spends perhaps three nights a month. The rest of the month he visits Alaskan villages.

He attends council meetings composed of Eskimo whalers, fishermen and, in Barrow, a school teacher and a Catholic priest from the "lower 48," as the Alaskans call the rest of the mainland states.

"You're eligible for two VISTA volunteers," Miller told the Barrow council, "but volunteers go only where they're invited. If you want them, they'll help you to begin community action projects—set up Head Start programs, fill in your forms for small business loans, or process your proposal for a Job Corps establishment. But only if you want them."

Alaska's Governor Egan (seated) credits ex-Volunteers (from left) Miller, ...ison, ... and ... impact upon poverty in Alaska in its 100 years under the American flag." Alaska ... O.E...

In Alaska's southwest, where 68 per cent of the population is Indian and Eskimo, the average income is $1,952, and a dozen eggs cost $1.08. Don Johnson, 25, went there after completing his Peace Corps service last summer.

A typical village in his district is Napaskiak, 50 minutes by dog sled from his headquarters at Bethel. Napaskiak, the home of 180 Eskimos, is a fishing village on king salmon waters.

When Johnson asked the village council to tell him what the village needed most, the council unanimously decided on a refrigeration plant to store next summer's salmon catch.

A councilman also suggested that an airplane be based in the village. There are no roads, and the village has to rely on an air charter service or dog sleds for supplies.

Another councilman voted for a herd of reindeer, the only livestock that can survive the Alaskan environment.

"We aren't operating a giveaway program here," Johnson said, "any more than we did in Guatemala. All the suggestions made by the village council will, if implemented, require hard work on the part of the Napaskiaks. But if they really want it, I'm here to help."

Mike Valentine, 23, operates from Anchorage — his territory stretches 150,000 miles from the last island in the Aleutian chain (closer to Tokyo than Seattle) to Juneau.

Valentine's biggest problem is Kodiak Island.

"We fly lots of men carrying their briefcases into the villages of Kodiak," an Aleut bush pilot remarked. "The villagers have seen them come, and they've seen them go, and the pots remain empty."

Kodiak City's king crab industry booms, but in an island village like Old Harbor, which was destroyed by

ıson, and entine with "the most constructive
Alaska O.E.O. Director Alfred Fothergill looks on.

In 30° below zero weather, Miller crouches before a backdrop of drying furs to distribute candy to two girls of Anuktuvik Pass, near the Arctic Circle.

"We aren't operating a giveaway program here," Johnson says at a meeting of village councilmen in a local school in Nunapitchuk, where this ex-Volunteer went to explain the various poverty programs available to the Yuk Eskimo villagers.

a 1964 tidal wave, the 219 Aleuts are dependent on the fish they can catch today, and the fish they might catch tomorrow.

During the winter it is impossible to dock the fishing vessels necessary to the village's economy. Ships put in near Kodiak City, a 40 minute, 50 dollar flight to the north. In the winter, the Aleuts must depend almost entirely on seal hunting for their daily meals.

Sven Haakinson, Old Harbor's restaurant owner, says, "All we want is the opportunity to work and make a living in Old Harbor. Welfare would kill us by destroying initiative." But the villagers believe Mike Valentine when he tells them how self-help community action programs raised living standards in Ecuador. "If he lived with those Ecuadorians and made his life a part of theirs, as he's doing here in Alaska, he must care," says Haakinson.

Information on the three returned Volunteers was gathered by Charles Overholt, Peace Corps writer-photographer.

LETTERS TO THE VOLUNTEER

"Senior Volunteers"

To THE VOLUNTEER:

By appealing to educational interests, I think we can provide veteran Volunteers with an incentive to stay on the job (THE VOLUNTEER, November, 1965) without destroying the essential character of Peace Corps service. It would not be necessary to resort to the deadly "pseudo-incentives" of money or prestige.

The ordinary Volunteer's desire to advance his education is demonstrated by the very high percentage of ex-Volunteers who return to the campus. Why not give the veteran Volunteer a chance to do this in the field if he chooses to stay on the job an extra six months or a year? A detailed program would have to be worked out, but the essentials of my suggestion are these:

- Peace Corps should make special arrangements with interested universities to provide full credit courses (grad and undergrad) by correspondence for Volunteers who have extended beyond their first termination date. It should be arranged that the Volunteer would be accepted into a regular degree program and his work by correspondence would be fully accredited toward this degree.
- A Volunteer would be able to complete up to 12 credit hours during one calendar year. Peace Corps would compensate the participating university for the cost of these courses.
- The Volunteer taking advantage of this program would receive no change in his living allowance, readjustment pay, or status among other Volunteers. However, any expense directly creditable to his studies (books, supplies) would be absorbed by Peace Corps.
- Consideration would be given to the Volunteer in this program allowing him perhaps one full day a week to study. He would be allowed to make bi-monthly trips to the nearest city with good library facilities. In the case of a full year extension, a meeting with faculty advisors should be facilitated for the Volunteer while he is on his special home leave. This would provide an opportunity for the Volunteer to discuss his thesis outline which might take advantage of his unique situation in the host country.

My suggestion might even be broadened to allow a Volunteer to complete three hours of college work in the last six months of his regular service.

In addition to keeping many effective Volunteers on the job for another year, I think this would have the additional effect of providing new life, new purpose, and a new angle of approach to his work for the veteran Volunteer. The closer the relationship of his work to his study, the greater these effects would be. It is not unlikely that a wealth of useful information on each host country would be provided by the studies of such Volunteers.

In short, I think it would go a long way toward improving both the quality of the work accomplished by the Peace Corps in the field and the quality of the ex-Volunteer which the Peace Corps returns to our American society.

G. L. SCHMAEDICK
San Pedro Peralapán, El Salvador

Experience counts

To THE VOLUNTEER:

I think the proposal to boost the readjustment allowance of extending Volunteers is excellent. The logic that a Volunteer with two years' experience is worth an extra $75 a month is so simple one might expect Congress to grasp it. And certainly completion of service forms should show that the Volunteer was accepted for additional duty because of an outstanding record during his first two years.

I am less certain of the other two proposals Mr. Brenneman makes, for a title and a living allowance hike. I lack Maureen Carroll's terror of titles for Volunteers. Given judiciously, I think they can simplify leadership. "Senior Volunteers" however, implies "Junior Volunteers." This would be disastrous. Perhaps there would be a less offensive designation worth considering.

I am not convinced that an extending Volunteer should get a raise in his living allowance. It's either a subsistence allowance or it's not. Ironically, a raise would come just when the Volunteer needed it least, after he had been bumming around for two years. Certainly the Volunteer should be reimbursed for expenses in connection with staff business, and should get an additional clothing allowance.

The clothing allowance, doubled readjustment allowance, stronger recommendation, and the already generous home leave policy should encourage Volunteers to extend. It's the least the Peace Corps could do. After all, who is more valuable to the Peace Corps than a good Volunteer with two years of experience?

MARK HAWTHORNE
Returned Volunteer
New York City

Leadership needed

To THE VOLUNTEER:

Regarding both articles, "Senior Status for PCVs" and "Title Taints Purpose," I believe THE VOLUNTEER has created a "black and white" situation out of a possible creative solution to many Peace Corps problems. This seems to be a common practice among Volunteers and staff alike, which makes attempts to standardize ideas into policy extremely difficult. Needs vary tremendously from country to country, from project to project; a problem which has caused many anxieties on the part of Volunteers and staff in the field.

However, there are a number of countries that are in need of additional staff assistance. Because of some random quota placed on the number of staff to Volunteers, some projects have found it necessary to call Volunteers out of the field to serve in either staff or semi-staff positions. Certainly, utilizing the "senior" Volunteer in such a role could be of tremendous value since he would be in a better position to provide technical assistance to incoming Volunteers, as well as to fill the "communication gap" between Volunteers and staff. Because of the demands of such a job, it may very well be necessary to increase the living allowance.

If, on the other hand, a Volunteer wishes to extend to complete the work of his original assignment, or perhaps venture into an entirely different type of assignment, I would agree with Miss Carroll that while continuing to serve as a "Volunteer" in the original sense of the term, it would indeed "put a price tag on service and does taint a very important message of the Peace Corps."

I would hope the Peace Corps seriously considers all avenues toward

retaining the "senior" Volunteer for purposes of training, orientation, technical assistance, and for means of providing coordination from one group to the next. It does not seem fair to ask such a person to "volunteer" his services for such a task.

PAULA HAGAN
Returned Volunteer
Rancho Cordova, Calif.

Victims of image

To THE VOLUNTEER:

Our job is not the building of showcase projects, but the strengthening of the foundations of a society for its development in the decades ahead. We need not be disappointed that this type of effort often defies the writing of success stories.

There is the distinct possibility of a preoccupation with a sentimental mishmash of success anecdotes. Why? Because we are being enslaved by our dangerously misleading public image. We are trying to keep the original glamour untarnished (a glamour that never really was, ironically) by demonstrating expansion and success—yet it is these two preoccupations that may ruin us.

Our American public, particularly the news media, can no longer be mesmerized by the image of photogenic young dynamos surrounded by smiling natives. Likewise, we must abandon that galling bit of naïveté, the idea of young men and women far-afield, erecting gleaming structures and passing on the torch of knowledge to eager foreign populations. Most important, we must be patient with the inconclusive and intangible type of efforts that Volunteers are often engaged in.

It is ironic that we who strove so hard to win our acceptance by selling an image are now becoming its victims. We have been forced to cater to an array of pressures with an oily efficient public relations machine. Numbers and success are demanded, and the resulting target is the distortion of the original values and ideals on which the American Peace Corps was founded. I can suggest no way out of our predicament. The question is a complex one, and the initiative lies with Washington. I venture to say, however, that the first step is a candid acknowledgment of our problem.

MICHAEL F. GRIFFIN
Ghootchan, Iran

Memorandum

TO : The field DATE: January, 1966
FROM : The editors
SUBJECT: Correspondents, pets, and the mail to West Point

Our call for Volunteer correspondents from around the Peace Corps world (THE VOLUNTEER, December, 1965) has produced an encouraging response. We are receiving nominations from many sectors, but we have not heard from a number of countries. Our goal is to have at least one writer and/or photographer in each Peace Corps country. Through this network we plan to improve our coverage and do a better job of telling the Peace Corps story. If you are qualified as a writer or a photographer and are willing to devote a few hours each month to keeping us informed about Peace Corps activities abroad, or if you know a Volunteer who might perform this job, we would like to hear from you. We would prefer correspondents who are in training or who still have at least a year of service left.

We will be contacting prospective correspondents during the next six weeks. Meantime, the field is still open, and nominations are being accepted in care of THE VOLUNTEER, Peace Corps, Washington, D. C. 20525.

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Menagerie Department: A Peace Corps physician has been deluged with Volunteer requests for information about how to get their little pets home without upsetting U.S. Customs or the pets. Dr. Burton Attico, stationed in Bogotá, Colombia, asked Washington for customs and quarantine advice. "Among the animals involved," he wrote, "are dogs, cats, monkeys, lemurs, ocelots, parrots, guacamayas, kinkajous."

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The Peace Corps sent a sample recruiting mailing to 150,000 college juniors and seniors. Among the unforeseen recipients: cadets at the U.S. Military Academy and the U.S. Air Force Academy. A call from the Pentagon followed shortly. Did they mind the letters? No, but they did want to know how the Peace Corps obtained the names. Answer: from a national magazine subscription list. And the results? Recruiting Director Joseph A. Hays reported that the Peace Corps received seven reply cards from West Point cadets.

The mass mailing also inspired the following letter to Director Sargent Shriver:

Dear Mr. Shriver:

I have just received your Peace Corps Volunteer questionnaire forms in the mail, and much as I would like to join you, I would wish to say that I cannot fully remember applying at any time. The forms, therefore, came as a surprise to me although I was very glad to receive them.

Fortunately I am a foreign student from Nigeria and, before I came here four months ago, I got to know and work with Peace Corps Volunteers already in my country and I think they are doing a successful job so far. In fact, through the mutual help of a Peace Corps friend of mine, I was able to come here to further my education.

I really like the Peace Corps program and would want to serve in it if nationality is not a barrier. If there is anything you think I can still do since I am not an American, please let me know.

Please, it shall be an honour for me to hear from you and, let me know if I can still fill out the questionnaire regardless of nationality.

I was glad to receive it from you and, wish to remain your faithful admirer.

Book Firm Works With Volunteers

A non-profit publishing firm is in the market for Peace Corps suggestions and outlets for books that might be of use in developing countries.

Franklin Book Programs, based in New York City, seeks to create or reinforce book publishing industries. It has offices in Africa, Asia, and Latin America and encourages nationals of the countries involved to handle the entire publishing process, from translation and editing through printing and distribution.

Franklin is now working with the Peace Corps in six nations.

Franklin-sponsored Arabic books published in Cairo, Beirut, and Baghdad are being used by Volunteer teachers in Morocco. Persian-language books produced in Iran are aiding Volunteers there and in Afghanistan. Peace Corps teachers are using Franklin's Urdu books in West Pakistan, and Malay works in Malaysia.

The books range in subject from children's readers to vocational education and family guidance.

In Nigeria, Franklin has assisted Volunteer Charles Shebar in publishing a secondary school volume titled *History of Nigeria.* Shebar collaborated on the work with Mallam Shuaibu Naibi, an official in the Ministry of Education in the Northern Region. Franklin arranged for critical reviews of the manuscript, checking and supplying source materials needed, and helping find a Nigerian publisher for the manuscript.

Franklin's usual method is to sponsor the translation of published works in a wide variety of subjects, thus helping to supply immediately needed books while at the same time helping to develop local book publishing through the production process.

A Franklin spokesman says the firm would welcome suggestions from Peace Corps Volunteers about ways in which Franklin could help their work. Franklin offices are in Cairo, Beirut, Baghdad, Tehran, Tabriz, Kabul, Lahore, Dacca, Kuala Lumpur, Djakarta, Lagos, Enugu, Kaduna, and Buenos Aires, with head offices at 432 Park Ave. South, New York, N. Y. 10016.

Career Information

The listings below are taken from the monthly bulletin distributed by Career Information Service. The bulletin should be consulted for additional listings. Address inquiries to Career Information Service, D.V.S., Peace Corps, Washington, D. C. 20525.

Education

National Urban League announces several one- and two-year fellowships in community organization, social work administration, counseling, personnel, economics, labor and industrial relations, political science, and social research. Fellowships to $3,000. Bachelor's degree and personal interview required. Also an interest in civil rights and a capacity for leadership, social action, and intergroup relations. Application deadline is March 30, 1966. Write Conrad Graves, Director of Fellowships, National Urban League, 14 E. 48th St., New York, N.Y. 10017.

Stanford University has 10 internships available to Volunteers in the 12-month program leading to a California secondary credential and an M.A. in teaching. Salary during the school year is about $1,900, and wide variety of specialization is offered. The Graduate Record Exam, aptitude and advanced tests, required. March 13, 1966 is the deadline for the session beginning June, 1966. Write Dwight Allen, Director, Internship Program, School of Education, Rm. C-1, Stanford, Calif. 94305.

Teaching

The Pennsylvania State Board of Education will give special consideration to Peace Corps teachers applying for the Interim Certificate. Write to Norman A. Miller, Director, Bureau of Teacher Education, Dept. of Public Instruction, Box 911, Harrisburg, Pa. 17126.

New York State Department of Education will hire uncertified Peace Corps teachers to teach full-time if they agree to pursue N.Y. State certification at no less than 6 hours per year. Consideration will be given to Peace Corps teaching experience and training, and satisfactory completion of approved proficiency exams. Write to V. C. Gazzetta, Division of Teacher Education and Certification, State Education Dept., Albany, N.Y. 12224.

Other

Economic Opportunity Committee of Clark County, Washington is developing educational, cultural, and counseling programs which may be of interest to returning Volunteers. Interested Volunteers with backgrounds in community development (education or experience) should write Sumner M. Sharpe, Executive Secretary, Economic Opportunity Committee of Clark County, 1706 Main St., Box 116, Vancouver, Wash. 98660.

The Delaware Department of Public Welfare would like to hear from Volunteers interested in a career in public welfare. B.A. required. Opportunity for graduate training in social work. Write John E. Hiland Jr., Director, Dept. of Public Welfare, P.O.B. 309, Wilmington, Del. 19899.

Community Development Foundation has immediate openings for people with experience in community development (Latin America preferred). Interns selected on basis of language fluency and administrative ability, with opportunity for permanent position. Projects in Colombia, Honduras, Dominican Republic, and British Guinea. Write Frank Barry, Latin America Coordinator, Community Development Foundation, 345 E. 46th St., New York, N.Y. 10017.

The Y.M.C.A. of Greater New York is interested in Volunteers with a B.S. degree in phys. ed., youth work, group work, or business. If interested in a Y.M.C.A. career, send resumé to Bernard E. Empleton, Y.M.C.A. of Greater New York, 422 9th Ave., New York, N.Y. 10001.

The Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Co. is interested in returning Volunteers who are seeking employment in California. Persons with a degree in engineering, math, business, or liberal arts, and an interest in management career, may write to F. F. Herbert, General Employment Director, Rm. 716, 140 New Montgomery St., San Francisco, Calif. 94105.

Rate Change

Newsweek magazine has revised special Peace Corps subscription rates to 50 per cent of the basic current rate of the subscriber's country. In Turkey and the Middle East, this makes a subscription $5.50 per year and in Africa, $6.00 per year. In Latin America, Volunteers can obtain one year subscriptions for $4.00.

CHANGE OF ADDRESS

Name

Street or P.O. Box

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Effective date

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WASHINGTON, D.C. 20525

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